

TRAVELS
OF
ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER
IN
GREECE,
DURING THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY
BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,
LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE,
AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS
AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES,
AND AN EIGHTH, IN QUARTO,
CONTAINING MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, AND COINS,
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THE FOURTH EDITION:

Carefully revised, corrected, and enlarged, by the last improved Paris Edition prepared
for the Press by the Author, with Memoirs of the Life of J. J. Barthelemy,
Written by himself, and embellished with his Portrait.

VOL. V.

LONDON.

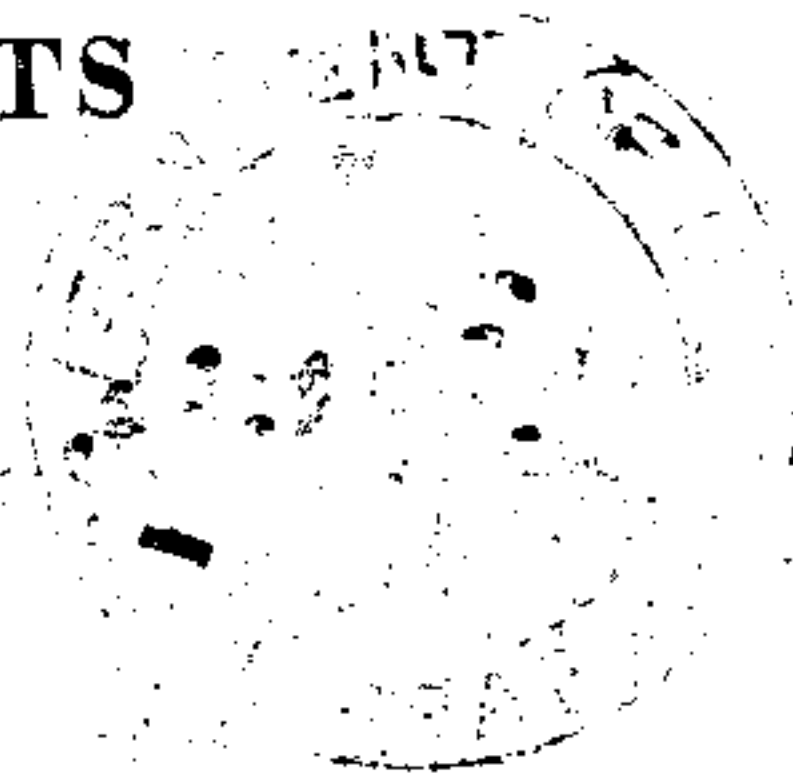
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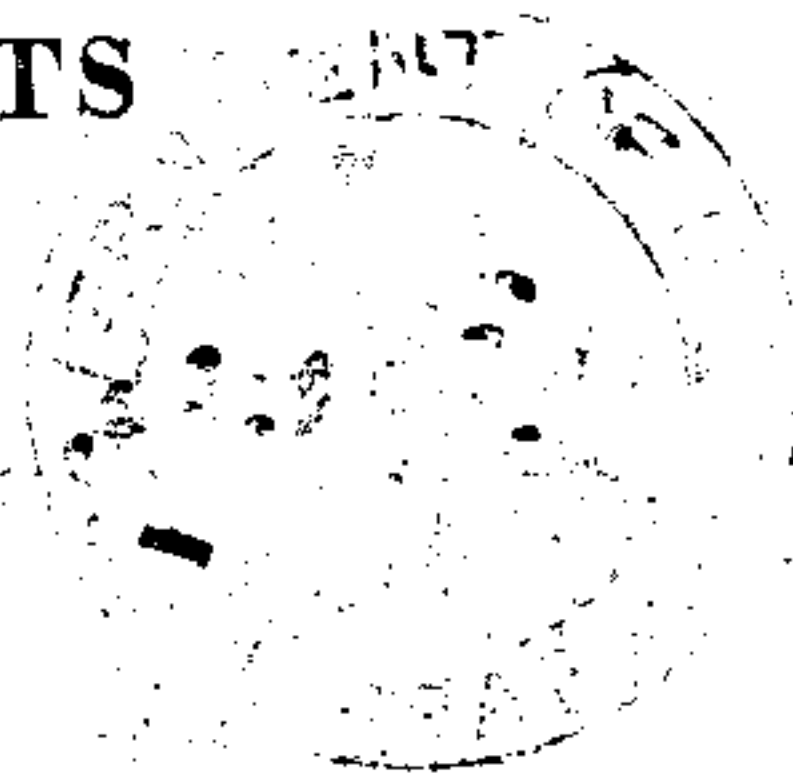
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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS

CHAP. LIX.

Tour of Attica.—Agriculture.—Mines of Sunium.—Discourse of Plato on the Formation of the World.

I HAD often passed a considerable time in different country-houses, and had frequently traversed Attica. I shall here collect the principal remarks which I made during these excursions.

The fields are separated from each other by hedges or by walls.* By a wise regulation observed in Attica, such lands as are mortgaged for the repayment of money are pointed out by small columns bearing an inscription which records the obligations contracted with a creditor. Similar columns placed before the houses that

* Lys. *de Sacr. Oliv.* p. 144. Demosth. in Callicl. p. 1116 et 1117. Harpocr. et Suid. in *Αέπει.*

are pledged in like manner make them known to every one,^b and the lender need be under no fear that he should be injured by any secret contracts.

The possessor of a field may not dig a well, or build a house or wall, in it, except at a certain distance, prescribed by law, from the field of his neighbour:^c neither is he permitted to turn aside the waters which descend from the hills that surround his land, over his neighbour's ground; but he may turn them into the public road,^d and the proprietors of the adjacent fields must defend their lands from them. In certain places the rain-water is received in canals, which convey it to a great distance.

Apollodorus had a considerable estate near Eleusis, to which he took me with him. The fields were covered with ripened corn, and slaves reaping it with the sickle, while young children gathered the falling ears, and gave them to those who bound them up in sheaves.^e

They had begun their work at the dawn of day,^f and the whole family shared in these rural labours.^g In a corner of the field, beneath the

^b Harpoer. in "Αστικτ. Id. Hesych. et Suid. in "Ορος. Poll. lib. 3. cap. 9. § 85. Duport. in Theophr. Charact. cap. 10. p. 360.

^c Pett. Legg. Att. p. 387.

^d Demosth. in Callicl. p. 1119.

Id. ibid. p. 1118.

^e Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 555.

^f Hesiod. Oper. v. 578.

^g Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 18. p. 1162.

shade of a great tree, some men were preparing the provisions;¹ women were boiling lentils,² and pouring meal³ into vessels full of boiling water, for the dinner of the reapers,⁴ who animated each other to their labour by songs with which the fields resounded.

O bounteous Ceres! with indulgent smile,
Survey, and prosper this our rustic toil:
Ye joyous reapers, clear the yellow plain,
And to the north expose the swelling grain.
The lark awakes: your sharpen'd sickles wield,
Nor quit, till he retires to rest, the field.⁵

Other couplets expressed an envy of the happy condition of the frog, who has always plenty of drink; in others, jokes were passed on the management of the inspector of the slaves, and the workmen advised to tread the corn at noon, because then the grain may be more easily separated from the husks in which it is inclosed.^m

The sheaves, when conveyed to the threshing-floor, are disposed circularly and in layers. One of the labourers places himself in the middle of them, holding in one hand a whip, and in the other a bridle, with which he guides the oxen, horses, or mules, which he makes to walk, or

¹ Schol. Theocr. in Idyll. 10. v. 54.

² Theocr. *ibid.*

³ Homer, *Iliad*. lib. 18. v. 555.

⁴ Theocr. *ibid.*

⁵ *Id. ibid.* Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 350.

trot, round him. Some of his companions turn the straw, and place it under the feet of the animals, till it is entirely broken;^a others throw handfuls into the air,^b when a brisk gale, which commonly rises about that time, wafts the chaff to a little distance, while the grain falls directly down, and is gathered up and put into earthen vessels.^c

Some months after we again visited the farm of Apollodorus. The vintagers were gathering the grapes from the vines, which were supported by props.^d Boys and girls filled wicker-baskets with them, and carried them to the wine-press.^e Before they are pressed, some farmers cause vine-branches loaded with grapes to be brought home.^f They expose them to the sun for ten days, and keep them in the shade for five days more.^g

Some keep their wine in casks,^h others in leather bottles,ⁱ or in earthen vessels.^j

While the vintage was pressing, we heard

^a Homer. Iliad. lib. 20. v. 495. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 863.

^b Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 127. Eustath. ibid. p. 1675. lin. 50.

^c Hesiod. oper. v. 475 et 600. Procl. ibid.

^d Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 563.

^e Id. ibid. v. 567. Eustath. t. II. p. 1163. lin. 45. Anacr. Od. 52.

^f Anacr. Od. 50. Note de M^e Dacier.

^g Hesiod. Oper. v. 610. Homer. Odyss. lib. vii. v. 123.

^h Anacr. Od. 52.

ⁱ Homer. Odyss. lib. 9. v. 196.

^j Id. ibid. v. 204. Herodot. lib. 3. Cap. 6.

with much pleasure the *songs of the wine-press*; ^a for so they are called. We had also heard others during the dinner of the vintagers, and in the different intervals of the day, which were accompanied with dancing.^a

The harvest^b and the vintage^c conclude with festivals celebrated with all those rapid emotions of mirth which plenty produces, and which are diversified according to the nature of the object. Corn being considered as the bounty of a goddess who has provided for our necessities, and wine as the gift of a god solicitous to increase our pleasures, the gratitude manifested to Ceres exhibits itself in a lively but decently attempered joy, while that to Bacchus riots in all the transports of delirium.

Sacrifices are likewise offered in seed-time and hay-harvest. At the season for gathering olives and other fruits they also present on the altar the first they gather, as gifts received from heaven. The Greeks have felt that on these occasions the heart should expand, and pay

^a Anacr. Od. 52. Oppian. de Venat. lib. 1. v. 127. Poll. lib. 4. cap. 7. § 35.

^b Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 572.

^c Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 22. Schol. in v. 1. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. 9. v. 530. Etymol. Magn. in Θαλός. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 336. Corsin. Fast. Attic. Dissert. 13. t. ii. p. 802. Meurs. in Αλωα et. in Θαλός.

^d Theophr. Charact. cap. 13. Castellan de Fest. Græcor. in Dionys.

grateful homage to the authors of the benefits bestowed on man.

Besides these general festivals, each town and district of Attica has its particular ones, in which, though there is less magnificence, there is more mirth, for the inhabitants of the country are unacquainted with fictitious joy. Their whole soul manifests itself without disguise in the rustic shows and innocent games which assemble them together. I have frequently seen a number of them collected round some leathern bottles filled with wine, and oiled on the outside. Some young persons hopped over these bottles, and, by their frequent falls, occasioned loud laughter among the by-standers.^d Close to these were children jumping after each other on one leg;^e others playing at even or odd,^f and others at blindman's-buff.^g Sometimes a line drawn on the ground divided them into two parties, and they played at day or night.* The party which had lost ran away, and the others pursued them to overtake and make them prisoners.^h These amusements are only

^d Heysch. in *Ἀσכול.* Eustath. in *Odys.* lib. 10. p. 1646. lin. 21; lib. 14. p. 1769. lin. 47. Schol. Aristoph. in *Plut.* v. 1130. Phurnut. de *Nat. Deor.* cap. 30.

^e Poll. lib. 9. cap. 7. § 121.

^f Meurs de *Lud. Græc.* in *Ἀγτιάξ.*

^g Id. *ibid.* in *Μυῖα.*

* This game resembled that of cross or pite.

^h Meurs. de *Lud. Græc.* in *Ὀστρακ.*

in use among the children in the city, but in the country grown persons do not blush to join in them.

Euthymenes, one of our friends, had always relied for the management of his affairs in the country on the vigilance and fidelity of a slave whom he had placed over the others.¹ Convinced, at length, that the eye of a master is much more discerning than that of a steward,² he determined to retire to his country-house, situate in the village or borough of Acharnæ, at the distance of sixty stadia from Athens.³ *

We paid him a visit there some years after. His health, which had formerly been in a declining state, was re-established. His wife and children partook and increased his happiness. Our life, said he to us, is active, but not agitated: we are unacquainted with disgust or weariness, and we enjoy without alloy the felicity of the present moment.

He showed us his house, which had not long been built. It fronted the south, that it might receive the warmth of the sun in winter, and be defended from its heat in summer, when that luminary has attained his greatest elevation.⁴

¹ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 855.

² Id. ibid. p. 854.

³ Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 21.

* About two leagues and a quarter.

⁴ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 5. p. 844.

The apartment of the women was separated from that of the men by baths, which prevented any communication between the slaves of different sexes. Each room was adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The corn was kept in a dry place, and the wine in a cool one. The furniture was not rich and sumptuous, but the utmost neatness was every where conspicuous. Garlands, and incense for sacrifices, habits of ceremony for the festivals, armour and military dresses, garments for the different seasons, kitchen-utensils, instruments to grind wheat, vessels in which to knead dough, and provisions for the whole year, and each month in particular, all were found with facility, because all were in their proper places, and orderly arranged." The inhabitants of the city, said Euthymenes, would treat this methodical exactness with contempt; they are ignorant how much time is saved by it in looking for things, and that a husbandman ought to be as great an œconomist of his time as of his money.

I have set over my house, added he, an intelligent and active woman. After being satisfied that her manners were unexceptionable, I gave her an exact inventory of all the things committed to her care. And how, said I, do you recompense her services? By esteem and con-

ANACHARSIS.

fidence, answered he. Since she has been entrusted with every secret of our affairs, they have become her own.* We pay the same attention to those of our slaves who show zeal and fidelity in our service. They have better shoes, and are better clothed. These little distinctions render them sensible to honour,^p and retain them in their duty more effectually than the fear of punishment.

My wife and myself have divided between us the care and management of our affairs. She regulates all the household concerns, and I inspect whatever is done without doors.^q I have undertaken to cultivate and improve the lands which I have inherited from my ancestors. Laodice takes account of what is received and expended, and of the storing and distribution of the corn, wine, oil, and fruits, which are delivered to her care. She also maintains order among our domestics, sending some to the field, and distributing to others wool, which she teaches them to prepare and make into clothing.^r Her example lightens their labours: and when they are sick, her attentions and mine alleviate their sufferings. We compassionate the condition of our slaves, and are ever ready to allow that they have numerous claims to our gratitude.

* Xenoph. Memor. lib. v. p. 845. ^p Id. ibid. p. 855 et 857.

^q Id. ibid. p. 838.

^r Id. ibid. p. 839, &c.

After having crossed a court-yard full of fowls, ducks, and other domestic birds;¹ we visited the stables, sheep-folds, and likewise the flower-garden; in which we saw successively bloom narcissuses, hyacinths, irises, violets of different colours,² roses of various species,³ and all kinds of odoriferous plants.⁴ You cannot be surprised, said my friend, at the care with which I cultivate flowers: you know that with them we adorn the temples, altars, and statues of our gods;⁵ that we wear crowns of them at our entertainments, and the celebration of our sacred rites; that we strew them on our tables and our beds; and that we even offer to the divinities those which we esteem most grateful to them. A husbandman, besides, ought not to neglect the smallest profits. Every time I send wood, charcoal,⁶ fruits, or other commodities, to the market of Athens, I always add to these some baskets of flowers, which are sure to find a speedy sale.

Euthymenes afterward conducted us to his farm, which was more than forty stadia in circuit,⁷ * and from which he had obtained the preceding year above a thousand medimni of

¹ Heysch. in *Kóσμικα*. ² Athen. lib. 15. cap. 9. p. 683.

³ Theophr. ap. Athen. p. 682.

⁴ Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 643.

⁵ Xenoph. Memor. p. 183. ⁶ Aristoph. in *Acharn.* v. 212.

⁷ Demosth. in *Phœnip.* p. 1023.

* About a league and a half.

barley, and eight hundred measures of wine.^b He had six beasts of burden, which every day carried to market wood and other commodities, and brought him in twelve drachmas daily.^c * As he complained that inundations frequently carried away his crops, we asked him why he had not removed to a part of the country less subject to such accidents. Advantageous exchanges have often been proposed to me, answered he, and you shall see why I have not accepted them. He immediately opened the door of a small inclosure, in which we found a plat of grass surrounded with cypress-trees. Here, said he, are the tombs of my family.^d There, beneath those poppies, I saw the grave dug in which the remains of my father are deposited. By the side of it is that of my mother. I sometimes come hither to converse with them, and imagine that I see and hear them. No; never will I leave this sacred spot. My son, said he afterward, turning to a little boy who followed us, when I am dead, lay me beside my parents; and when you have the misfortune to lose your mother, place her next to me. Remember it is my command. His son promised not to neglect what he had enjoined him, and burst into tears.

^b Demosth. in Phœn. p. 1025.

^c Id. ibid. p. 1023.

* See note I. at the end of the volume.

^d Demosth. in Callicl. p. 1117. Id. in Macart. p. 1040.

The borough of Acharnæ is full of vineyards,^e and the whole country of Attica covered with olive-trees, which are more carefully cultivated there than any other kind of tree. Euthymenes had planted a great number of them,^d especially along the roads which bordered his farm. He allowed the space of nine feet between each, because he knew that their roots will extend to a considerable distance.^f No person is permitted to root up on his grounds more than two olive-trees in a year, unless it be for some use authorised by religion. He who violates this law is condemned to pay for each tree a hundred drachmas to the informer, and another hundred to the public treasury, a tenth of which is deducted for the treasury of Minerva.^g

We frequently find clusters of olive-trees left in reserve, and surrounded by a hedge. These do not appertain to the owner of the field, but to the temple of the above-mentioned goddess. They are farmed out,^h and their produce is entirely set apart for the maintenance of her worship. If the proprietor of the land should cut down a single tree, even though it should be only a barren trunk, he would be punished with banishment and confiscation of his goods.

^e Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 511.

^d Xenoph. Memor. p. 865. Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 91.

^f Demosth. in Macart. p. 1039. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 391.

The Areopagus takes cognisance of all offences relative to the different kinds of olive-trees, and from time to time sends inspectors to watch over their preservation.¹

Continuing our walk, we were passed by a numerous flock of sheep, preceded and followed by dogs kept to drive away the wolves.² A covering of skin was wrapt round each sheep. This practice, which has been borrowed from the Megareans,³ defends the wool from the filth which might otherwise defile it, and prevents it from being torn by the hedges. I know not whether it contributes to render the wool finer, but I can affirm that the wool of Attica is extremely fine.⁴ I should add likewise, that the art of dyeing has there been brought to such perfection, that the colours it gives to it are never effaced.⁵

I learned on this occasion that sheep grow the fatter the more they drink; and that, to excite their thirst, salt is often mixed with what they eat; and that, in summer especially, a certain measure of it, that is a medimnus * for each hundred sheep, is distributed among them every

¹ Lys. in Areopag. p. 136 et 143. Markl. Conject. ad cap. 7. • Lys. p. 548, ad cal. edit. Taylor.

² Xenoph. Memor. lib. ii. p. 757 et 759.

³ Diogen. Laërt. lib. 6. § 41.

⁴ Varr. de Re Rustic. lib. 2. cap. 2. Plut. de Audit. 1. ii. p. 42. Athen. lib. 5. p. 219.

⁵ Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 429.

* About four bushels.

fifth day. I was likewise told that, when they are thus made to eat salt, they give more milk.^a

At the foot of a small eminence which bounded a meadow, we saw a number of bee-hives surrounded with rosemary and broom. Observe, said Euthymenes, with what industrious alacrity the bees execute the commands of their queen; for she it is who, not suffering them to remain idle, sends them into this beautiful meadow to collect the rich materials, the use of which she regulates; she it is who superintends the construction of the cells, and the education of the young bees, which, when they are capable of providing for their subsistence, she forms into a swarm,^b and obliges to leave their home under the conduct of a bee which she has chosen.*

Further on, between hills enriched with vineyards, we came to a plain where we saw yokes of oxen, some of which drew tumbrels of dung, while others, harnessed to the plough, laboriously traced the lengthened furrow.^c I shall sow barley here, said Euthymenes, for that is the kind of grain which succeeds best in Attica.^d The wheat we grow here affords indeed a bread very agreeable to the taste, but it is less nutritive than that of Bœotia; and it has been more than

^a Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. i. p. 996.

^b Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 837 et 839.

^c See note II. at the end of the volume.

^d Elian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^e Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 947.

once remarked, that the Bœotian *athletæ*, while they reside at Athens, consume two-fifths more of wheat than in their own country ;^{*} yet is that country contiguous to ours : so true is it, that a little thing suffices to alter the influence of climate. As another proof of this, it may be remarked, that the isle of Salamis is close to Attica, yet grain ripens there much sooner than with us.[†]

The discourse of Euthymenes, and the objects by which I was surrounded, began to engage my attention. I already perceived that the science of agriculture was not founded merely on blind custom, but on a long series of observations. It appears, said our guide, that we formerly received the principles of this art from the Egyptians,[‡] and that we communicated them to the other nations of Greece, the greater part of whom, in gratitude for so great a benefit, bring us every year the first fruits of their harvests.[§] I know that other Grecian cities make the same pretensions with ourselves ;[¶] but to what purpose would it be to discuss their claims ? The most necessary arts have had their birth among the most ancient nations, and

^{*} Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 4. p. 932.

[†] Id. *ibid.* cap. 3. p. 913.

[‡] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13, 14, 25 ; lib. 5. p. 336.

[§] Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 133. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[¶] Goguet. Orig. des Lois, t. ii. p. 177.

their origin is the more illustrious as it is more obscure.

That of husbandry, when transmitted to the Greeks, became improved by experience; and a number of writers have employed themselves to collect its precepts. Several celebrated philosophers, as Democritus, Archytas, and Epicharmus, have left us useful instructions on the subject of rustic labours,² and many ages before them they had been sung by Hesiod in one of his poems:³ but a husbandman ought not to abide so implicitly by their precepts as never to dare to interrogate nature, and make new experiments. If then, replied I, I had a field to cultivate, it would not be sufficient to consult the authors you have mentioned? No, answered my friend; they give many excellent directions, but such as are not suitable to every soil and every climate.

Let us suppose that you intended one day to exercise the noble profession which I follow. I should first endeavour to prove to you that all your care and all your time should be devoted to the earth, and that the more you shall do for her, the more she will do for you;⁴ for she is only so beneficent because she is just.⁵

² Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 308. Varr. de Re Rustic. lib. 1. cap. 1. Colum. de Re Rustic. lib. 1. cap. 1.

³ Hesiod. Oper. et Dies.

⁴ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 868. ⁵ Id. ibid. p. 832.

To this principle I should add, sometimes rules confirmed by the experience of ages, and sometimes doubts which you might resolve by your own observations or the knowledge of others. I should say to you, for example : Choose a favourable situation.^d Study the nature of soils, and the manures proper to each production.^e Inform yourself when it may be necessary to mingle earths of different kinds ;^f and when the earth should be mixed with the dung,^g or the dung with the grain.^h

If the subject in question were the cultivation of wheat in particular, I should add : Redouble your labours. Do not commit to the earth the grain you have last reaped, but that of the preceding year.ⁱ Sow sooner or later, according to the temperature of the season ;^k thicker or thinner, according as the earth is lighter or heavier ;^l but always sow equally.^m Does your wheat run up too high, be careful to cut it, or turn in sheep to browse on it ;ⁿ for the former of these methods is sometimes dangerous : the

^d Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 1.

^e Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. cap. 8. p. 946.

^f Id. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 25.

^g Id. ibid. cap. 7.

^h Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 792.

ⁱ Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 11. p. 962. Plin. lib. 18. cap. 24. ii. p. 127. Geopon. lib. 2. cap. 16.

^k Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 861.

^l Theophr. ibid. cap. 6. p. 939.

^m Xenoph. ibid.

ⁿ Theophr. ibid. cap. 7. p. 942.

grain becomes long and thin. Have you much straw, only cut down half of it, and burn what remains on the ground; it will serve for manure.* Lay up your wheat in a dry place;† and, that it may keep a long time, do not spread it, but heap it up, and even water it.‡

Euthymenes made several other remarks on the cultivation of wheat, and enlarged still more on that of the vine. I shall give you his observations in his own words:

We must be particularly attentive to the nature of the young plant, the labours it requires, and the means of rendering it fruitful. A number of practices relative to these various objects, and frequently contradictory to each other, have been introduced in the different districts of Greece.

Almost every-where vines are supported with props. They are only manured once in four years, or not so often; more frequent manurings would at last burn them up.¶

The attention of the vine-dresser is principally directed to the pruning; the object of which is to render the vine stronger, more fruitful, and longer lived.¶

* Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 862.

† Id. ibid. p. 844.

‡ Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 15.

¶ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 25.

¶ Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.

¶ Id. ibid. cap. 19.

In a ground newly cleared, a young plant should be pruned in the third year, but later in one that has been long cultivated." With respect to the season, some maintain that this operation ought to be early performed; because inconveniences may result from pruning either in winter or in spring, since in the former case the wound cannot close, and the eyes or buds are in danger of being dried up by the cold; and, in the latter, the sap is exhausted, and flows over the buds near the wound.*

Others make distinctions according to the nature of the soil. They say that the vines in a thin and dry ground should be pruned in autumn; those in a cold and moist one in spring; and those in a soil neither too dry nor too moist in winter. By these means the former would preserve the sap necessary to them, the second lose that which is superfluous, and all would produce an excellent wine. One proof, say they, that in moist grounds pruning should be deferred till the spring, and a part of the sap suffered to flow off, is the custom we have of sowing in vineyards barley and beans, which absorb the humidity of the soil, and prevent the vine from exhausting itself in useless branches.

The vine-dressers are divided on another ques-

* Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 18.

* Id. ibid. cap. 20.

tion,^y Whether vines should be pruned long or short. Some say this is to be determined by the nature of the plant or the soil; and others, that it depends on the quantity of sap in the branches: if that is abundant, several very short shoots should be left, that the vine may produce more grapes; but if there is but little of it, fewer shoots should be left, and the vine should be pruned longer.

The vines which bear many branches and few grapes require that the shoots at the top should be pruned long, and those lower down short, in order that the vine may be strengthened at the root, and at the same time the branches at the top produce much fruit.

It is advantageous to prune young vines short, that they may grow stronger; for vines which are pruned long produce indeed more fruit, but sooner die.^z

I shall not speak of the different labours which the vine requires,^a nor of several practices, the utility of which is acknowledged. We frequently see the vine-dressers strew a light dust over the grapes, to defend them from the heat of the sun, and for other reasons which it would be too tedious to enumerate.^b At other times we see them pluck off some of the leaves,

^y Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 19.

^z Id. ibid. cap. 20.

^a Id. ibid. cap. 21.

^b Id. ibid. cap. 22.

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that the clusters, being more exposed to the sun, may ripen sooner.^c

Would you wish to restore youth to a vine nearly dead with old age, remove the earth on one side, and pick and clean the roots, applying to them different kinds of manure, and covering them with the earth. It will produce scarcely any fruit the first year, but, after three or four years, it will have regained its former vigour. If you afterwards perceive it begin to languish, again repeat the same operation on the other side; and these precautions, taken every ten years, will in some measure render your vine immortal.^d

To obtain grapes without stones, you must take a vine-shoot, and cut it lightly in the part which is to be set in the ground; take out the pith from this part, unite the two sides separated by the incision, cover them with wet paper, and plant it in the earth. The experiment will succeed better if the lower part, thus prepared, be put in a sea-onion before it is planted. Other methods are known to produce the same effect.^e

Would you wish to have on the same vine both black and white grapes, or clusters the

^c Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 866.

^d Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. cap. 15.

^e Id. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5. Democr. Geopon. lib. 4. cap. 7. Pallad. de Re Rustic. Febr. tit. 29. Colum. de Arbor. 9. Plin. lib. 17. cap. 21. t. ii. p. 74. Traité de la Vigne, t. i. p. 29.

berries of which shall be some black and others white,^f take a shoot of each kind, bruise them in their upper part, so that they may closely unite and incorporate, if I may so speak, tie them together, and plant them.

We afterwards requested from Euthymenes some instructions concerning the different kinds of plants of the kitchen garden and fruit-trees. The former, said he, come up sooner when we make use of seed which is two or three years old.^g There are some which it is advantageous to water with salt water.^h Cucumbers* are sweeter when their seeds have been steeped in milk for two days.ⁱ They thrive better in grounds naturally a little moist, than in gardens where they are frequently watered.^k Would you have them early, sow them at first in pots, and water them with warm water;^l but I must tell you that they will have less flavour than if they had been watered with cold water.^m To render them large, care is taken, as soon as they begin to be formed, to cover them with a pot or vessel, or to introduce them into a kind

^f Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5.

^g Aristot. Problem. § 20. Quæst. 36. t. ii. p. 773.

^h Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 7.

* See note III. at the end of the volume.

ⁱ Theophr. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 12. Id. Histor. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 3. Pallad. in Mart. lib. 4. cap. 9. Colum. de Re Rustic. lib. 11. cap. 3. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 165.

^k Aristot. Probl. t. ii. p. 776.

^l Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 6.

^m Aristot. Probl. p. 775. Theophr. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

of tube. To preserve them a long time, they should be covered, and kept hung up in a well.^a

Trees should be planted in autumn, or rather in the spring.^b The trench should be digged at least a year before they are planted.^c It is usual to leave it a long time open, as if it were to be fecundated by the air.^d The dimensions of the trench are varied according as the soil is dry or moist. It is usual to allow to it two feet and a half in depth, and two feet in breadth.^e

I only relate, said Euthymenes, practices that are known and familiar to all cultivated nations;—and which, replied I immediately, do not sufficiently excite their admiration. What time, what reflexion, must not have been necessary to observe and gain a knowledge of the wants, the varieties, and resources of Nature,—to render her docile, and diversify or correct her productions! I was surprised at my arrival in Greece to see trees manured and pruned;^f but how great was my admiration to find that the secret had been discovered to diminish the kernel of some fruits to increase the size of the pulp;^g that

^a Aristot. Probl. p. 773. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 6.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3 et 4.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 5.

^d Id. ibid. cap. 18.

^e Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 864.

^f Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 2.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 18.

other fruits, and especially pomegranates, had been made to grow larger on the tree by covering them with an earthen vessel;^a and that trees were compelled to bear fruits of different kinds,^x and be loaded with productions foreign to their nature!

This latter prodigy, said Euthymenes, is effected by grafting, by which the roughness and sourness of the fruits of wild trees is corrected.^y Almost all garden trees undergo this operation, which is ordinarily performed on trees of the same species; as, for example, a fig is grafted on another fig-tree, an apple on a pear-tree,^z &c.

Figs ripen sooner when they have been punctured by gnats that come from the fruit of a wild fig-tree, purposely planted near.^z Yet those which ripen naturally are preferred, and the dealers who sell them in the market never fail to mention this difference.^b

It is said that pomegranates will be sweeter when the tree is watered with cold water, and pig's-dung laid round the roots; that almonds have more flavour when nails are driven into the trunk of the tree, and the sap suffered to flow

^a Aristot. Probl. § 20. t. ii. p. 772.

^x Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 5.

^y Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 6 et 7.

^z Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 1016.

^z Id. ibid. p. 1017. Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 12. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, t. i. p. 338.

^b Theophr. ibid. cap. 13.

out for some time;^c and that olive-trees do not thrive when they are more than three hundred stadia from the sea.^d * It is likewise said that certain trees have a sensible influence on other trees; that olive-trees delight in the neighbourhood of wild pomegranates,^e and garden pomegranates in that of myrtles.^f It is added, in fine, that the difference of sex must be admitted in trees and plants,^g an opinion which was at first founded on the analogy that was imagined to exist between animals and the other productions of nature, and afterwards confirmed by the observation that palm-trees do not bear fruit unless the females are fecundated by the down or dust contained in the flower of the male.^h This species of phænomenon must first have been observed in Egypt and the neighbouring countries; for in Greece the palm-trees raised for the ornament of gardens bear no dates, or at least never bring them to perfect maturity.ⁱ

In general the fruits of Attica have a sweetness not found in those of the neighbouring countries,^k which advantage they owe less to

^c Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1017.

^d Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 550.

* 11½ leagues.

^e Aristot. ibid. cap. 6. p. 1017.

^f Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 243.

^g Aristot. de Plant. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 1011. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 146.

^h Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 2. p. 113.

ⁱ Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 124.

^k Aristot. Problem. t. ii. p. 774.

the industry of the cultivator than the influence of the climate. We as yet are ignorant how far this influence will correct the sourness of those beautiful fruits which hang on that citron-tree lately brought from Persia to Athens.¹

Euthymenes spoke to us concerning rustic labours with pleasure, and with transport on the delights of a country life.

One evening, when we were seated at table, before his house, under some superb plane-trees, that arched over our heads, he said to us: When I walk in my fields, all things smile and seem embellished with new ornaments in my eyes. These harvests, trees, and plants, exist only for me, or rather for the necessitous whose wants I relieve. Sometimes I create to myself illusions to heighten my enjoyments, and the earth then seems to accompany her benefactions with a species of delicacy, announcing her fruits by flowers, as among men benefits ought to be accompanied by the graces.

An emulation without rivalry forms the bond of the union between me and my neighbours. They frequently come and take their places around this table, which was never yet encircled but by my friends. Confidence and frankness reign at these repasts; we communicate to each other our discoveries; for, unlike to other ar-

¹ Antiphon. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 84. Salmas. Exercit. in Plin. p. 956.

tists who have secrets,^m each is only emulous to inform himself and instruct his friends.

Then, addressing himself to some inhabitants of the city of Athens, who had that moment arrived, he added: You imagine yourselves free within the inclosure of your walls; but that independence which the laws grant to you is incessantly torn from you by the tyranny of society. Have you not employments to intrigue for and to discharge, powerful men to sooth and flatter, secret mischiefs to foresee and to shun, and duties of ceremony, more rigorous than those of nature, to fulfil? Are you not compelled to a continual restraint in your dress, demeanour, actions, and words,—to endure the insupportable pressure of idleness, and the tedious persecutions of the importunate? There is no kind of slavery by which you are not held in bondage.

Your festivals are most magnificent, but ours most mirthful; your pleasures superficial and transient, but ours real and constant. Can the dignities of the republic afford any functions more noble than the exercise of an art, without which industry and commerce must alike decline?ⁿ

Have you ever, in your rich apartments, breathed an air so fresh as that we respire in this

^m Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 858.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* p. 832.

verdant arbour? or can your entertainments, sometimes so sumptuous, compare with the bowls of milk which we have just drawn, and those delicious fruits which we have gathered with our own hands? And what a relish do we acquire to our repasts from labours, which it is so pleasing to undertake even in the frosts of the winter, and the heats of summer,^o and from which it is so delightful to rest, sometimes amid the thick woods fanned by the breath of zephyrs, and reclining on a turf which invites to sleep; and sometimes near a sparkling fire^p fed by the trunks of trees which I have felled on my own grounds, surrounded by my wife and children, objects ever new, of the most tender love, in defiance of the impetuous winds which howl around my cottage without being able to disturb its tranquillity!

Ah! if happiness be only the health of the soul, must it not be found in those^f places where a just proportion ever reigns between our wants and our desires, where motion is constantly followed by rest, and where our affections are always accompanied by tranquillity?

We had frequent conversations with Euthymenes, and on one occasion mentioned to him that Xenophon, in some of his writings,^q had

^o Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 831.

^p Id. ibid. p. 832.

^q Id. Hier. p. 916.

proposed to grant to those who should best cultivate their land, not rewards in money, but certain honourable distinctions. That expedient, answered he, might tend to the encouragement of agriculture; but the republic is so occupied in distributing favours to idle and powerful men, that it cannot bestow a thought on useful and obscure citizens.

Having left Acharnæ, we continued our journey toward Bœotia. On our way we saw several castles surrounded with thick walls and lofty towers, such as those of Phyle, Decelia, and Rhamnus. The frontiers of Attica are defended on every side by these fortresses, and the country people are directed to take refuge in them in case of an invasion.

Rhamnus is situate near the sea. On a neighbouring eminence stands the temple of the implacable Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance. Her statue, which is ten cubits high, * is by the hand of Phidias, and of most beautiful workmanship. That artist sculptured it from a block of Parian marble which the Persians had brought to this place to erect a trophy. Phidias has not inscribed on it his own name, but that of his pupil Agoracritus, whom he extremely loved.

* Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Cor. p. 479.

* About $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

† Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 80. Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. p. 725. Suid. et Hesych. in Παμν. Meurs. de Popul. Attic. in Παμν.

From Rhamnus we went to the town of Marathon, the inhabitants of which were eager to relate to us the principal circumstances of the victory which the Athenians, under the conduct of Miltiades, had formerly gained there over the Persians. This celebrated event has left such an impression on their minds, that they imagine they hear, during the night, the cries of the combatants, and the neighing of horses.^c They showed us the tombs of the Greeks who fell in the battle: these are small columns, on which their names only have been inscribed. We prostrated ourselves before that which the Athenians consecrated to the memory of Miltiades, after having suffered him to expire in a dungeon: it is only distinguished from the rest by being erected at a small distance from them.^d

As we approached Brauron, the air resounded with joyful shouts. The inhabitants of that town were celebrating the festival of Diana, their tutelary goddess.^e Her statue appeared to us to be of great antiquity, and we were told that it was the same which Iphigenia brought from Taurica.^f All the Athenian maidens must be consecrated to this goddess, after they have

^c Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 79.

^d Id. ibid.

^e Meurs. de Popul. Attic^æ in Braur^o. Id. in Græc. Fer. Castell. de Fest. Græc.

^f Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 23. p. 55; et cap. 33. p. 80.

attained their fifth, and before they have passed their tenth year.² A great number of them, brought by their parents, and having at their head the young priestess of Diana,³ are present at these ceremonies, which they embellish by their presence, and during which rhapsodists sing portions of the Iliad.⁴ As a consequence of their being thus devoted, they come before marriage to offer sacrifices to this goddess.⁵

We were pressed to wait some days, that we might be present at a festival, which is repeated every fifth year⁶ in honour of Bacchus, and which, as it is resorted to by the greater part of the courtesans of Athens, is celebrated with equal splendor and licentiousness;⁷ but as the description given us of it only excited our disgust, we proceeded to visit the quarries of Mount Pentelicus, which produce that beautiful white marble so famous throughout Greece, and on which the chisels of able sculptors have so often been employed.⁸ It seems as if Nature had taken a pleasure in multiplying in the same

² Aristoph. in *Lysistr.* v. 644. Schol. *ibid.* Harpocr. et Hesych. in *Αἴκτι*, et in *Δεκάτι*.

³ Dinarch. in *Aristogit.* p. 106. Demosth. in *Conon.* p. 1112.

⁴ Hesych. in *Βραυ*.

⁵ Suid. in *Αἴκτι*.

⁶ Poll. lib. 8. cap. 9. § 107.

⁷ Suid. in *Βραυ*. Schol. in Demosth. *Orat. adv. Conon.* p. 1415.

⁸ Theophr. de *Lapid.* § 14. Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 6. p. 591. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 32. p. 78; lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 398; lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 658, &c.

place, great men, great artists, and the materials most proper to preserve the memory of each. Mount Hymettus,^g and other mountains of Attica,^h contain within them similar quarries.

We went to pass the night at Prasiæ, a small town situate near the sea. Its port, named Panormus, is a safe and commodious harbour: it is surrounded with valleys and delightful hills, which, from the very sea-shore, rise in the form of an amphitheatre, and end in mountains covered with pines and various kinds of trees.ⁱ

Proceeding onward, we entered a beautiful plain, which makes part of a district named Paralos.*^k It is bordered on each side by a range of hills, the summits of which, rounded and separated from each other, seem rather to be the work of art than of nature.^l This plain conducted us to Thoricos, a strong place situate on the sea-coast;^m and how great was our joy to learn that Plato was in the neighbourhood, at the house of Theophilus, one of his oldest friends, who had long pressed him to visit his countryseat! Several

^g Strab. lib. 9. p. 399. Plin. lib. 17. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 48; lib. 36. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 724; et cap. 15. p. 744. Horat. lib. 2. od. 18.

^h Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 920. Liv. lib. 31. cap. 26.

ⁱ Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 157.

* That is to say, *Maritime*.

^k Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 55.

^l Wheeler's Journey, p. 447. Voyag. MSS.

^m Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 928.

of his disciples had accompanied him to these solitary^a places. I know not what tender interest the surprise occasioned by these fortuitous meetings inspires, but our interview seemed to have the air of a dramatic discovery, and Theophilus prolonged the pleasure of it by detaining us at his house.

The next day, at a very early hour, we repaired to Mount Laurium, where are the silver mines that have been worked from time immemorial.^b They are so rich, that the veins of metal seem to have no end;^c and a much greater number of pits might be sunk, if such undertakings did not require considerable sums. Besides the purchasing of instruments, and the erecting of houses and furnaces, it is necessary to have a great number of slaves, the price of which continually varies. According as they are stronger or weaker, older or younger, they cost from three to six hundred drachmas,^d and sometimes more.^e When the adventurers are not rich enough to purchase them, they contract for them with those citizens who have a great number of them, to whom they pay an obolus a day for each slave.^f

Every individual who, on his own account, or at the head of a company, undertakes to

^a Xenoph. Rat. Redit. p. 924. ^c Id. ibid. p. 927.

^b From 270 to 540 livres (from 11*l.* 5*s.* to 22*l.* 10*s.*)

^d Demosth. in Aphob. 1. p. 896.

^f Three sols. (three halfpence).

make new researches, must purchase a permission, which can only be granted by the republic.^a He must address himself to the magistrates who have the direction of the department of the mines. If his proposal be accepted, it is entered in a register, and he is required to pay, besides the premium for his privilege, one twenty-fourth part of his profits to the republic;^b and if he does not fulfil his engagements, the grant reverts to the treasury, by which it is put up to auction.^c

Formerly the sums arising from the sale of the privileges or the eventual profits of the mines were distributed to the people. Themistocles induced the general assembly to enact that they should be appropriated to the building of ships.^d This resource supported the Athenian navy during the Peloponnesian war. Individuals were then seen to acquire considerable wealth by the mines. Nicias, so unfortunately rendered famous by the expedition into Sicily, let out to an adventurer a thousand slaves, for whom he received a thousand oboli, or 166½ drachmas, a day.* Hipponicus at the same time had six hundred, which he let out in like manner for six hundred oboli, or a hun-

^a Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.

^b Suid. in 'Αγρίφ.

^c Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1022.

^d Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 113.

* 50 livres (6*l.* 5*s.*)

dred drachmas.*^u According to this calculation, Xenophon proposed to government to engage in the commerce of the slaves to work the mines.^x For a beginning, it might have been sufficient to have purchased twelve hundred, and successively to have augmented the number to ten thousand, which would have produced to the state the annual profit of a hundred talents.^y†

This project, which might have excited the emulation of those who undertook the working of the mines, was not carried into execution; and, toward the end of this war, it was perceived that the mines produced less than they had formerly done.

Various accidents may disappoint the hopes of the speculators; and I have known many who have ruined themselves for want of property, or a sufficient knowledge of the business they had undertaken.^z The laws however have omitted nothing which may tend to their encouragement. The income from the mines is not reckoned among the property which obliges a citizen to contribute to the expenses of the state.^a Punishments are denounced against those

* 90 livres (3*l.* 15*s.*)

^u Xenoph. *Rat. Redit.* p. 925.

^x *Id. ibid.* p. 926.

^y Xenoph. *Memor.* lib. 3. p. 773.

† 540,000 livres (22,500*l.*)

^z Demosth. in *Phœnip.* p. 1022 et 1025.

^a *Id. ibid.*

who shall obstruct any privileged person in the working of his part of the mines, either by carrying away his machines and instruments, setting fire to the timbers and stays made use of underground,^b or by encroaching on his limits; for the grants made to each individual are circumscribed by boundaries which it is not permitted to pass.^c

We entered these damp and unhealthy places,^d and witnessed what labour it costs to tear from the bowels of the earth those metals which are destined only to be discovered, and even possessed, by slaves.

On the sides of the mountain, near the pits,^e are constructed forges and furnaces,^f to which the ore is carried to separate the silver from the other substances with which it is mixed. It is frequently found united to a sandy red and shining substance, from which has lately been obtained, for the first time, the artificial cinnabar.^{g*}

The traveller through Attica must be struck with the contrast presented by the two classes of workmen whose labours are employed on the earth. The one, without fear, and unexposed to danger, gather on the surface the corn, wine,

^b Poll. lib. 7. cap. 23. § 98. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 543.

^c Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 992.

^d Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 773.

^e Vitruv. lib. 7. cap. 7.

^f Demosth. ibid. p. 998. Suid. Harpocr. et Phot. Lex. Man. in Κερχ.

^g Theophrast. de Lapid. § 104. Plin. lib. 33. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 624. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 262.

* This discovery was made about the year 405 before Christ.

oil, and other fruits, in which they are permitted to participate : they are in general well fed and well clothed ; they have their moments of pleasure, and, in the midst of their toil, breathe a free air, and enjoy the splendor of heaven. The other, buried in quarries of marble, or mines of silver, continually in danger of seeing the tomb close over their heads, are only guided in their incessant labours by dim and funereal lights, and are perpetually surrounded by a gross and frequently deadly atmosphere. Unfortunate spectres, to whom no feeling remains but that of their sufferings, nor strength but what must be employed to augment the pride and pomp of their masters, who tyrannise over them ! From this comparison we may judge which are the true riches that nature designed for man.

We had not informed Plato of our journey to the mines. He wished to accompany us to Cape Sunium, distant from Athens about three hundred and thirty stadia.^h* On it stands a superb temple consecrated to Minerva, of white marble, and of the Doric order, surrounded by a peristyle, and having, like that of Theseus, which it resembles in its general disposition, six columns in front, and thirteen on the sides.ⁱ

From the summit of the promontory are seen

^h Strabo, lib. 9. p. 390.

* About twelve leagues and a half.

ⁱ Le Roi. Ruines de la Grèce, part. i. p. 24.

at the foot of the mountain, the harbour and town of Sunium, which is one of the fortresses of Attica.* But a grander scene excited our admiration. Sometimes we permitted our eyes to wander over the vast plains of the sea, and at length to repose on the prospects presented by the neighbouring islands. Sometimes pleasing recollections seemed to bring nearer to us the isles which escaped our sight. We said: On that side of the horizon is Tenos, in which we find such fertile valleys; and Delos, where such delightful festivals are celebrated. Alexis said to me in a whisper: There is Ceos, where I saw Glycera for the first time. Philoxenus showed me, with a sigh, the island which bears the name of Helen; in which, ten years before, he had with his own hands erected, amid myrtles and cypresses, a monument to the affectionate Coronis, and whither for ten years he had resorted, on certain days, to sprinkle with his tears her cold ashes, still dear to his heart. Plato, on whom great and sublime objects had always made a strong impression, seemed to have fixed his whole attention on the gulfs, which nature has excavated to receive the waters of the ocean.

In the mean time the horizon began to be overclouded at a distance with hot and gloomy vapours; the sun grew dim, and the smooth

* Demosth. de Cor. p. 479. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 2.

and motionless surface of the waters assumed a melancholy hue, the tints of which incessantly varied. Already the heavens, shut in on every side, only presented to our view a dark vault, from which issued streams of flame. All nature appeared to be in silent and fearful expectation, and in a state of inquietude, which communicated itself to the inmost recesses of our souls. We sought an asylum in the vestibule of the temple, and quickly the thunder, with redoubled peels, broke the barrier of darkness and fire suspended over our heads, thick clouds rolled their heavy masses through the air, and descended in torrents on the earth, while the winds, unchained, rushed impetuously on the sea, and upturned its enormous billows. The united roarings of the thunder, the winds, the waves, and the re-echoing caverns and mountains, produced a dreadful sound, which seemed to proclaim the approaching dissolution of the universe. At length, the north wind having redoubled its efforts, the storm departed, to carry its rage into the burning climates of Africa. We followed it with our eyes, and heard it howl at a distance, while with us the sky again shone with a purer splendor, and that sea, which had so lately dashed its foaming surges to the clouds, now scarcely impelled its languid waves to the shore.

At the sight of so many unexpected and rapid

changes, we remained for some time motionless and mute ; but they quickly reminded us of those doubts and questions which have exercised the curiosity of mankind for such a number of ages. Why these seeming errors and revolutions in nature ? Are they to be attributed to chance ? But whence then is it that the close-connected chain of beings, though a thousand times on the very verge of being broken, is yet perpetually preserved ? Are tempests excited and appeased by an intelligent cause ? But what end does that cause propose in them ? and whence is it that he darts his lightnings on the desert, while he spares the nations whose guilt loudly calls for his vengeance ? From these inquiries we proceeded to the existence of the gods, the reduction of chaos to form and order, and the origin of the universe. Wandering and lost in the mazes of these ideas, we conjured Plato to guide us to the truth. He was absorbed in profound meditation ; it seemed as if the terrible and majestic voice of nature still resounded in his ears. At length, overcome by our entreaties, and the truths which he revolved in his labouring mind, he seated himself on a rustic seat, and, having placed us by his side,* began his discourse as follows :

Feeble mortals that we are !¹ is it for us to

* See Plate, N° 28.

¹ Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 29.

penetrate the secrets of the Divinity? for us, the wisest of whom is to the Supreme Being only what an ape is to us?^m Prostrate at his feet, I intreat him to inspire me with such ideas and such language as shall be pleasing to him, and shall appear to you conformable to reason.ⁿ

If I were obliged to explain myself in the presence of the multitude concerning the first Author of all things, the origin of the universe, and the cause of evil, I should be compelled to speak in enigmas ;^o but in these solitary places, heard by God and my friends, I shall have the satisfaction of rendering homage to truth.

The God which I declare unto you, is a God single, immutable, and infinite,^p the centre of all perfections, and the inexhaustible source of intelligence and being.^q Before he had created the universe, before he had externally displayed his power, he was, for he had no beginning ;^r he was in himself, he existed in the profundity of eternity. No ; my expressions do not correspond to the elevation of my ideas, nor my ideas to the sublimity of my subject.

^m Heracl. ap. Plat. in Hipp. Major. t. iii. p. 289.

ⁿ Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 27.

^o Id. Epist. 2. ad Dionys. t. iii. p. 312. Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

^p Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78, &c.

^q Id. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 396.

^r Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. passim. Id. in Phædon. t. i. p. 78.

Matter, equally eternal, subsisted in a fearful fermentation, containing within itself the germs of all evils, and agitated by impetuous motions, which sought to unite its parts, and destructive principles, which instantly separated them: susceptible of every form, but incapable of retaining any, horror and discord wandered over its tumultuous waves.* The dreadful confusion which you have so lately seen in nature, was but a feeble image of that which reigned in chaos.

From all eternity, God, by his infinite goodness, had decreed to create the universe, according to the model ever present to his eyes;† a model immutable, increated, and perfect; an idea like to that which an artist conceives when he converts rude stone into a superb edifice; an intellectual world, of which the visible is only the copy and the expression.‡ Whatever in the universe is the object of our senses, and all that escapes their activity, was traced in a sublime manner in the first plan; and as the Supreme Being conceives nothing but what is real, it may be said that he had produced the world before he had rendered it sensible.

Thus from all eternity existed God, the au-

* Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 30, 51, &c. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 69. Cicer. Academ. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 70.

† Tim. de Anim. Mund. ibid. p. 99. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 29. Senec. Epist. 65.

‡ Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 28.

thor of all good; matter, the principle of all evil; and that model according to which God had determined to reduce matter to order.* *

When the moment decreed for this great work had arrived, the Eternal Wisdom issued his commands to chaos, and instantly the whole mass was agitated by a fructifying and unknown motion. Its parts, which had before been separated by an implacable hatred, hastened to unite, and to embrace and enchain each other. Fire, for the first time, shone in the midst of the darkness, and the air separated from the earth and water.^y These four elements were destined to form the composition of all bodies.^z

To direct their motions, God, who had prepared a soul, † composed in part of the divine essence, and in part of material substance,^a clothed it with the earth, the sea, and the gross air, beyond which he extended the deserts of the heavens. From this intelligent principle,

* Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. ii. p. 94. Plut. de Plat. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. iii. p. 882. Id. de Anim. Procr. p. 1014. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 69. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 678 et 691.

* Archytas, before Plato, had admitted three principles, God, matter, and form (Arch. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 82).

^y Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 53.

^z Id. ibid. p. 32.

† See note IV. at the end of the volume.

^a Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 34.

placed in the centre of the universe,^b issue as it were rays of flame, which are more or less pure as they are more or less distant from their centre; which insinuate themselves into bodies, and animate their parts; and which, arrived at the boundaries of the world, diffuse themselves over its circumference, and form all around it a crown of light.^c

Scarcely had the universal soul been plunged into this ocean of matter which conceals it from our view,^d when it tried its strength; and several times shaking and rapidly turning on itself the mighty whole, it drew after it the entire universe, obedient to its efforts.

If this soul had only been a pure portion of the divine substance, its action, ever simple and constant, would have impressed only one uniform motion on the whole mass; but as matter made a part of its essence, that occasioned variety in the progression of the universe. Thus, while one general impulse, produced by the divine part of the universal soul, caused the whole to revolve from east to west in the space of twenty-four hours, a particular impulse, produced by the material portion of that soul, caused the part of the heavens in which the

^b Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 36.

^c Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 19.

^d Plat. in Tim. p. 36.

planets float to advance from west to east, according to certain ratios of velocity.^e

To conceive the cause of these two contrary motions, we must observe, that the divine part of the universal soul is ever in opposition to the material part; that the former is most abundantly found toward the extremities of the world, and the latter in the beds of air which surround the earth;^f and that, in fine, when motion was to be given to the universe, the material part of the soul, unable entirely to resist the general direction given by the divine part, collected the remains of the irregular motion which had agitated it in chaos, and communicated it to the spheres which surround our globe.

The universe in the mean time was full of life. This only Son, this begotten God,^g had received a spherical figure, the most perfect of all forms;^h and was subjected to a circular motion, the most simple of all, and the most suitable to its form.ⁱ The Supreme Being surveyed his work with complacency,^k and having compared it with the model which he had followed in his operations, saw with pleasure that the

^e Tim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. ibid. p. 38.

^f Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96.

^g Id. ibid. p. 94. Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 705.

^h Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 33.

ⁱ Id. ibid. p. 34.

^k Id. ibid. p. 37.

principal features of the original were faithfully expressed in the copy.

But there was one exalted property which it could not receive; eternity, the essential attribute of the intellectual world, of which the visible was not susceptible. As it was not possible that these worlds should possess the same perfections, God willed that they should have similar. He created time, that moveable image¹ of immoveable eternity; * time, which, incessantly beginning and ending the circle of days and nights, months and years, seems in its course to know neither beginning nor end, and to measure the duration of the sensible world as eternity measures that of the intellectual; time, in fine, which would have left no traces of its presence, had not visible signs been appointed to distinguish its fugitive parts, and to register, if I may so speak, its motions.^m With this view the Supreme Being enkindled the Sun,ⁿ and impelled him with the other planets through the vast solitude of the air, whence that luminary inundates heaven with his splendor, sheds his light on the paths of the planets, and fixes the limits of the year, as the moon determines

¹ Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 37.

* Rousseau, in his Ode to Prince Eugène, has borrowed this expression from Plato.

^m Plat. ibid. p. 38.

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 39.

those of the months. The planets Mercury and Venus, borne along by the sphere over which he presides, continually accompany him in his progress. Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have also their particular periods, unknown to the vulgar.*

And now the Author of all things thus addressed the genii to whom he had confided the government of the stars:† “Ye gods, who owe to me your birth, listen to my sovereign commands. You have not a title to immortality, but you may participate in it by the power of my will, more potent than the bonds that unite the parts of which you are composed. It remains to give perfection to this grand whole, to fill with inhabitants the seas, the earth, and the air. Were these creatures to receive life immediately from me, they would be exempt from the empire of death, and become equal to the gods themselves. I therefore commit to you the care of producing them. Delegates of my power, unite to perishable bodies the germs of immortality which you shall receive from me. Form especially beings, who may command over other animals, and be subject to you. Let them receive birth at your command, live and increase by your bounty; and, after their death, let them be united to you, and share in your happiness.”

* Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. p. 39.

† Plat. ibid. p. 40 et 41.

He said: and immediately pouring into the cup in which he had mixed the soul of the world the remains which he had reserved of that soul, he composed the souls of individual creatures; and adding to those of men a portion of the divine essence,^a he annexed to them irrevocable destinies.

Then was it decreed that mortals capable of knowing and serving the Divinity should be born; that the man should have pre-eminence over the woman; that justice should consist in triumphing over the passions, and injustice in yielding to them; that the just after death shall pass into the stars, and there enjoy an unalterable felicity; and that the unjust shall be changed into women, or, if they continue unjust, transmigrate into the bodies of different animals, and that they shall not be restored to the primitive dignity of their existence until they shall have become obedient unto the voice of reason.^c

After these immutable decrees, the Supreme Being disseminated souls in the planets; and, having commanded the inferior gods to clothe them successively with mortal bodies, to provide for their wants, and to govern them, he again entered into eternal repose."

^a Tim. de Anim. Mund.^a ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99.

^b Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

^c Id. ibid.

Immediately second causes having borrowed from matter particles of the four elements, bound them with invisible bonds,* and collected around the souls the different parts of bodies destined to serve them for vehicles to convey them from place to place.†

The immortal and rational soul was assigned its place in the brain, in the most elevated part of the body, to regulate its motions.‡ But besides this divine principle, the inferior gods formed a mortal soul, destitute of reason, in which were to reside pleasure which attracts evil, and pain which makes good disappear; audacity and fear, the sources of imprudent actions; anger so difficult to calm, hope which so easily seduces, and all the violent passions which are the necessary adjuncts of our nature. This soul occupies in the human body two regions, separated by an intermediate partition. The irascible part, endowed with strength and courage, was placed in the breast, where, situate more near to the immortal soul, it may more distinctly hear the voice of reason, and where besides all things concur to moderate its frantic transports; the air which we respire, the liquids with which we assuage our thirst, and even the vessels which distribute the fluids through all the

* Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 43.

† Id. ibid. p. 69.

‡ Tim. de Anim. Mund. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 99 et 100. Plat. in Tim. p. 69.

parts of the body. In fact, it is by their means that reason, informed of the efforts of anger as they take birth, awakens all the senses by her menaces and her cries, and forbids them to join in the culpable excesses of the heart, which, in despite of itself, it retains in obedience.^a

Still farther, and in the region of the stomach, was enchained that other part of the mortal soul which is only occupied by the gross necessities of life; a greedy and ferocious animal, that was placed at a distance from the part in which the immortal soul resides, that it might not disturb its operations by its clamours and its howlings. The immortal part has nevertheless continually preserved its superiority over it, and, unable to govern it by reason, has subjugated it by fear. As it is placed near the liver, the rational and eternal soul paints in this shining and polished viscus the objects most proper to terrify it.^b It then views in this mirror only frightful and menacing wrinkles and dreadful spectres, which fill it with inquietude and disgust. At other times, to these gloomy prospects succeed more pleasing and lively images; peace reigns around it, and then it is that, during sleep, it foresees remote events. For the inferior gods, commanded to endow us with all the perfections of which we are susceptible, have ordained that this blind and gross portion of our soul should

^a Plat. in Tim. l. iii. p. 70.

^b Id. ibid. p. 71.

be enlightened by a ray of truth. This privilege cannot be bestowed on the immortal soul, since futurity is never unveiled to reason, and only manifested in sleep, during sickness, or in the transports of enthusiasm.^c

The qualities of matter, the phænomena of nature, the wisdom which especially shines conspicuous in the disposition and uses of the parts of the human body, and various other objects worthy of the greatest attention, would lead me too far; I therefore return to what I at first proposed.

God could create, and has created, only the best of possible worlds,^d because he worked on a rude and disorderly matter, which incessantly opposed his will with the most stubborn resistance. This opposition still subsists;^e and hence tempests, earthquakes, and all the revolutions which take place on our globe. The inferior gods, when they formed us, were obliged to employ the same means as the Supreme Divinity;^f and hence the maladies of the body, and those, still more dangerous, of the soul. All that is good in the universe in general, and in man in particular, proceeds from the Supreme God; and all that is defective in them is to be attributed to the viciousness inherent in matter.^g

^c Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 71.

^d Id. ibid. p. 30 et 56. Senec. Epist. 65.

^e Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 176. ^f Id. in Tim. t. iii. p. 44.

^g Id. ibid. p. 47. et in Politic. t. ii. p. 273.

CHAP. LX.

Remarkable Events in Greece and Sicily (from the Year 357 to the Year 354 before Christ).—Expedition of Dion.—Prosecution of the Generals Timotheus and Iphicrates.—End of the Social War.—Beginning of the Sacred War.

I HAVE said above* that Dion, banished from Syracuse by king Dionysius his nephew, had at length resolved to deliver his country from the yoke under which it groaned. Leaving Athens, he departed for the island Zacynthus, the rendezvous of the troops which he had for some time assembled.

He there found three thousand men, the greater part raised in Peloponnesus, all of tried valour, and regardless of danger.^b They were yet ignorant of their destination; but when they learned that they were to attack a sovereign defended by a hundred thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, four hundred galleys, numerous fortresses, immense riches, and for-

* See Chap. XXXIII. (Vol. III. p. 222—248.)

^b Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 333. Aristot. de Rhetor. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420.

midable alliances,ⁱ they only beheld in the projected enterprise the despair of a proscribed exile, who was rashly eager to sacrifice every thing to his revenge. Dion, on the other side, represented to them that they were not to march against the most powerful empire in Europe, but the most contemptible and feeble of monarchs.^k “I am not,” added he, “in want of soldiers; those of Dionysius will soon be at my command: I have only selected leaders who may give them examples of courage and lessons of discipline.^l I am so certain of the success of our enterprise, and the glory which must redound to us from it, that were I to perish in the moment of our arrival at Sicily, I should still esteem myself happy in having conducted you thither.”^m

This harangue had infused new courage into his soldiers, when an eclipse of the moon revived all their former fears;^{*} but these were again dissipated by the firmness of Dion, and the answer of the augur of the army, who, when questioned concerning the omen, answered that the power of the king of Syracuse was on the

ⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 12. Nep. in Dion. cap. 5.

^k Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 404.

^l Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967.

^m Aristot. *ibid.* p. 405.

^{*} This eclipse happened on the 9th of August of the year before Christ 357. See note V. at the end of the volume.

point of being eclipsed.ⁿ The soldiers immediately embarked, to the number of eight hundred,^o and the remainder of the troops were to follow, under the command of Heraclides. Dion had only two ships of burden, and two lighter vessels, all abundantly provided with arms, warlike stores, and provisions.^p

This small fleet, which a violent tempest drove toward the coast of Africa, and on rocks where it was in danger of being wrecked, at length arrived at the port of Minoa, in the southern part of Sicily. This was a fortress belonging to the Carthaginians. The governor, from friendship to Dion, or perhaps to foment disturbances beneficial to the interest of Carthage, supplied the troops, fatigued by a perilous and difficult voyage, with every necessary. Dion wished to allow them some time to rest; but they, having learned that Dionysius had a few days before embarked for Italy, pressed their general to lead them with all possible expedition to Syracuse.^q

In the mean time, the report of the arrival of Dion, spreading with rapidity, filled the whole country with hope and fear. Already the inhabitants of Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina.

ⁿ Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 968.

^o Id. *ibid.* p. 967.

^p Id. *ibid.* p. 968.

^q Id. *ibid.* p. 969.

had come over to him, and those of Syracuse and the neighbouring country resorted to his army in crowds. To five thousand of these he distributed the arms which he had brought from Peloponnesus.^r The principal inhabitants of the capital, habited in white robes, received him at the gates of the city,^s which he entered at the head of his troops, who marched in silence, followed by fifty thousand persons, who made the air ring with their shouts.^t At the sound of the trumpet the clamour ceased, and the herald who preceded him declared Syracuse free, and tyranny destroyed. At these words tears of grateful emotion streamed from every eye, and nothing was heard but a confused mixture of loud shouts and vows addressed to heaven. The incense of sacrifice smoked in the temples and the streets, and the people, in the excess of their joy and gratitude, prostrated themselves at the feet of Dion, invoking him as a beneficent divinity, and throwing flowers over him. A moment after they fell furiously on the odious race of spies and informers with which the city swarmed, and massacred them without mercy; and these scenes of horror increased the general joy.^u

Dion continued his dignified progress through the midst of tables spread on each side of the

^r Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 414. ^s Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.

^t Diod. Sic. *ibid.* p. 415. ^u Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 970.

street. When he came to the forum he stopped, and, from an elevated place, addressed the people, to whom he again offered liberty, exhorting them to defend it with fortitude, and conjuring them to place at the head of the republic only such men as should be able to conduct it in circumstances so critical. The people nominated himself and his brother Megacles; but, however illustrious and honourable they esteemed the power with which they were to be invested, they refused to accept it but on condition that twenty of the principal inhabitants of Syracuse, the greater part of whom had been proscribed by Dionysius, should be assigned them as associates.

Some days after, Dionysius, informed too late of the arrival of Dion,^w returned by sea to Syracuse, and entered the citadel, which was held blocked up by a wall that had been built round it. He immediately sent deputies to Dion,^x who directed them to address themselves to the people. When admitted to the general assembly, they endeavoured to gain its favour by the most flattering offers; such as a diminution of the taxes, and an exemption from military service in all wars undertaken without the consent of the assembly. Dionysius promised every thing, but the people required that the abolition

^w Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 969. Diod. lib. 16. p. 415.

^x Plut. *ibid.* p. 971.

of tyranny should be the first condition of the treaty.●

The king, who meditated an act of perfidy, protracted the negotiation, and caused a report to be circulated that he consented to resign his authority.⁷ At the same time he sent for the deputies from the people, and having detained them during the whole night, commanded a sally at the break of day. The barbarians who composed the garrison attacked the wall which shut in the citadel, demolished a part of it, and repulsed the troops of Syracuse, who, believing that an accommodation would speedily be concluded, had suffered themselves to be surprised.

Dion, convinced that the fate of his country depended on the event of this day, saw no other resource to encourage the intimidated troops than to carry valour to temerity. He calls them to rush into the midst of their enemies, not with his voice, which it is no longer possible they should hear, but by his example; which fills them with astonishment, and which they hesitate to follow. He singly makes his way through the victorious enemy, numbers of whom fall beneath his sword, but at length is wounded, struck down, and carried off by some Syracusan soldiers, whose returning courage inspires him with new strength. He immediately mounts his

⁷ Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 416. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. cap. 2. § 7.

horse, collects the fugitives, and with his hand, that had been pierced by a lance, shows them the fatal field in which it must quickly be decided whether they shall pass the remainder of their days in liberty or bondage. A moment after he flies to the camp of the Peloponnesian troops, and brings them up to the combat. The barbarians, exhausted with fatigue, only made a feeble resistance, and fled to conceal their shame in the citadel. The Syracusans distributed a hundred minæ * to each of the foreign soldiers, who unanimously decreed a crown of gold to their general. †

Dionysius then perceived that it would be impossible for him to triumph over his enemies unless he could disunite them, and resolved to employ the same artifices to render Dion suspected to the people which he had formerly made use of to render him odious to them. Hence those whispered rumours which he caused to be spread through Syracuse, those intrigues and suspicions with which he disturbed the peace of families, those insidious negotiations, and that fatal correspondence which he maintained both with Dion and the people. All his letters were communicated to the general assembly. One day one was found with this address: *To my father*. The Syracusans, who

* 9000 livres (\$75l.)

† Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 971.

believed it to be from Hipparinus, Dion's son, did not offer to look into it, but Dion opened it himself. Dionysius had foreseen that, should he refuse to read it publicly, it would excite suspicion; and that, if he read it, it must inspire fears. It was in the hand-writing of the king, who had expressed himself in the most artful manner, and insisted much on the reasons which ought to induce Dion to desert the interests of the people. His wife, his son, and his sister, were shut up in the citadel, and on these Dionysius might take cruel vengeance. These indirect menaces were succeeded by complaints and entreaties equally capable of moving a mind of sensibility and generosity. But the most virulent poison was concealed in the following words: "Recollect the zeal with which formerly, while you were with me, you supported tyranny. Far from restoring liberty to men who must hate you, because they remember the evils of which you have been the author and the instrument, keep in your own hands the power which they have confided to you, and which alone can insure your security and that of your family and your friends."²

Dionysius could not have derived more advantage from the gaining of a battle than he did from this letter. Dion appeared to the people as under the most unavoidable necessity to keep

² Plut. in Dion. t. i, p. 972. Polyæn. lib. 5. cap. 2, § 8.

measures with, or to restore, the tyrant. From that moment he might have foreseen the loss of his influence, for when once confidence is injured, it is soon destroyed.

In the mean time arrived, under the conduct of Heraclides, the second division of the troops from Peloponnesus. Heraclides, who enjoyed great credit at Syracuse,^b seemed only destined to increase the troubles of a state. His ambition formed projects which his fickleness never permitted him to carry into execution. He betrayed all parties without effecting the triumph of that which he espoused, and was only successful in multiplying intrigues useless to his designs. Under the tyrants, he had filled with distinction the first offices in the army. He had afterwards joined, deserted, and again returned to Dion. He possessed neither the virtues nor the abilities of that great man, but he surpassed him in the arts of pleasing and gaining friends.^c Dion repulsed those who approached him by a cold reception, and the severity of his manners and his mind. His friends ineffectually exhorted him to become more affable and accessible, and Plato in vain told him in his letters, that to be useful to men it was necessary to begin by being agreeable to them.^d Heraclides, more easy and indulgent, because nothing was sacred in

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 419.

^c Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.

^d Plat. Epist. 4. t. iii. p. 321.

his esteem, corrupted the orators by his presents, and the multitude by his flatteries. The people had already resolved to throw themselves into his arms, and at the first meeting of the assembly the command of the fleet was conferred upon him. Dion, arriving in the moment, represented that the new office was a dismemberment of his own authority, obtained the revocation of the decree, and afterwards caused it to be confirmed in a more regular assembly, which he took care to convoke. He was besides desirous to add several new prerogatives to the office of his rival, and contented himself with making remonstrances to him in private.*

Heraclides affected to appear sensible of this generous procedure. Assiduous, and even crouching to Dion, he observed, anticipated, and executed his commands, apparently with all the eagerness of gratitude, while by secret intrigues he created invincible obstacles to his designs. If Dion proposed an accommodation with Dionysius, suspicions were spread that he secretly maintained a good understanding with the tyrant; and if he made no such proposal, it was said that he wished to continue the war as long as possible to perpetuate his own authority.†

These absurd accusations were urged with

* Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 972.

† Plut. ibid. p. 973.

still more force after the fleet of the Syracusans had defeated that of the king, commanded by Philistus.* The galley of that general having been driven on shore, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of an irritated populace, who before they put him to death treated him with the utmost barbarity, and dragged him ignominiously through the streets.^g Dionysius himself, had he been taken, would have undergone the same fate. He therefore, seeing he had no longer any resource, gave up the citadel to his son Apollocrates, and found means to escape into Italy with his wives and treasures. Heraclides, who, in quality of admiral, should have prevented his flight, seeing the inhabitants of Syracuse enraged against him, had the address to turn the storm on Dion, by suddenly proposing a division of the lands.^h

This proposition, the eternal source of dissensions in many republican states, was received with avidity by the multitude, who no longer circumscribed their claims by any bounds. The opposition of Dion occasioned a revolt, and in an instant obliterated the memory of his services. It was determined that they should immediately proceed to a division of the lands, that the Peloponnesian troops should be dismissed, and that

* Under the archonship of Elpines, in the year before

the administration of affairs should be confided to twenty-five new magistrates, of whom Heraclides should be one.¹

Nothing was now thought of but to depose and condemn Dion. As the adverse party however greatly feared the foreign troops he had with him, attempts were made to seduce them by the most splendid offers; but those brave warriors, who had been treated with insult by being deprived of their pay, and still more by being thus supposed capable of treachery, placed their general in the midst of them, and passed through the city, pursued and pressed by all the people, to whose outrages they only answered by reproaches for their ingratitude and their perfidy, while Dion, to pacify them, had recourse to entreaties and every mark of tenderness and affection. The Syracusans, ashamed that they had suffered him to escape, sent after him, to harass his retreat, troops who took to flight the moment he gave the signal to attack them.

He retired to the territories of the Leontines,² who not only considered it as an honour done to themselves to admit him and his brave companions into the number of their fellow-citizens, but by a noble generosity resolved to procure him a signal satisfaction. After having sent ambassadors to Syracuse, to complain of the in-

¹ Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 975.

² Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420.

justice with which the deliverers of Sicily had been treated, and received deputies from that city, appointed to accuse Dion, they convoked their allies, the cause was discussed in the assembly, and the conduct of the Syracusans unanimously condemned.

Far from acknowledging the justice of this sentence, the people of Syracuse congratulated themselves on having at once shaken off the yoke of two tyrants by whom they had successively been oppressed; and their joy was still more increased by some advantages gained over the ships of Dionysius, which came to bring a supply of provisions for the citadel, and to throw into it some troops commanded by Nypsius of Neapolis.¹

That able general, however, believed that the time to subdue the rebels was at length arrived. Encouraged by their late trivial success, the insolence of the Syracusans no longer submitted to any restraint, but had broken every bond of subordination and decency. Their days were passed in the excesses of the table, and their leaders suffered themselves to be hurried away by a licentiousness which they could no longer check. Nypsius sallied from the citadel, threw down the wall by which it had been a second time surrounded, made himself master of one quarter of the city, and gave it up to pillage. The troops of Syracuse were repulsed,

¹ Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 976. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 420.

the inhabitants massacred, and their wives and children loaded with chains, and led prisoners to the citadel. The assembly immediately met, and deliberated in tumult. Terror had frozen every mind, and despair no longer found any resource. At this moment, some voices were heard which proposed the recall of Dion and his army. The people immediately demanded him with fond exclamations: "Let him come," said they; "may the gods restore him to us, that he may once more inspire us with new courage!"

The deputies appointed to make known to Dion the wishes of the people were so expeditious that they arrived on the same day in the territories of the Leontines. They fell at the feet of Dion, bathed in tears, and moved his compassion by a lively description of the calamities which his country suffered. When introduced to the assembly of the Leontines, the two principal ambassadors conjured the people to save a city but too deserving both of their hatred and their pity.

When they had ended, a mournful silence reigned in the assembly. Dion attempted to speak, but tears interrupted his words. At length, encouraged by his troops, who participated in his grief, he thus addressed them: "Warriors of Peloponnesus, and you faithful

* Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 976. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 422.

allies, it is for you to deliberate on what regards yourselves; I, for my part, have not the liberty of choice. Immediate destruction menaces Syracuse, and it is my duty to save her, or bury myself beneath her ruins. I place myself among the number of her deputies; and I add, we have been the most imprudent, and we now are the most unfortunate of men. If you are moved at our remorse, hasten to succour a city which you have once saved: if you can only fix your attention on our injustice, may the gods at least recompense the zeal and fidelity of which you have given me such affecting proofs! and never may you forget that Dion, who forsook not you when his country was in fault, and never will abandon his country when she is unfortunate."

He was about to continue, but all the soldiers, with the liveliest emotion, exclaimed with one voice: "Place yourself at our head, and let us fly to deliver Syracuse." The ambassadors, overcome with joy and gratitude, threw themselves on their necks, and invoked a thousand blessings on Dion, who only gave his troops time to take a slight repast.^a

Scarcely had he begun his march, when he was met by other deputies, some of whom pressed him to hasten, and others to defer his return. The former spoke in the name of the

^a Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 277.

wisest and best part of the citizens; the latter were the agents of the opposite faction. The enemy having retired, the orators had again appeared, and sowed dissension in the minds of the people; a part of whom, induced by their clamours, had resolved to owe their liberty only to themselves, and to seize on the gates of the city, to exclude all foreign succour; while, on the other side, the more sensible citizens, terrified at such foolish presumption, used all their efforts to confirm the recall of the Peloponnesian soldiers.^o Dion did not think it proper either to suspend or hasten his march. He advanced slowly towards Syracuse, and was only at the distance of sixty stadia,* when couriers successively arrived from all parties and all ranks of the citizens, even Heraclides himself, his most implacable enemy. The besieged had made a new sally; and while some completed the destruction of the wall of circumvallation, others, like raging tigers, attacked the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; while others, to form an impenetrable barrier against the foreign troops, threw fire-brands and flaming darts on the houses contiguous to the citadel.^p

At this news Dion hastened to the citadel with all possible speed. Already he perceived the flames and clouds of smoke which rose in

^o Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 977.

* About two leagues and a quarter.

^p Id. *ibid.*

the air, and heard the insolent shouts of the victors, and the lamentable cries of the inhabitants. He arrived, the people fell at his feet, and the enemy, in astonishment, drew up in order of battle, at the foot of the citadel.^a They chose this post that they might be defended by the almost inaccessible ruins of the wall they had destroyed, and still more by that terrible rampart of fire which their fury had enkindled.

While the Syracusans lavished on their general the same acclamations and the same titles of Saviour and God with which they had received him on his first triumph, his troops divided into columns, and, animated by his example, advanced in good order through the burning ashes, the flaming timbers, and the blood and dead bodies with which the squares and streets were filled; and through the dreadful darkness of a thick smoke, by the still more dreadful light of devouring fires, and amid the ruins of houses which fell with a fearful crash on every side of them. When arrived at the last intrenchment, they passed it with the same courage, notwithstanding the obstinate and ferocious resistance of the soldiers of Nypsius, who were cut in pieces, or obliged to shut themselves up in the citadel.

On the day following, the inhabitants, after having stopped the progress of the conflagration,

found themselves in profound tranquillity. The orators and other heads of the factions had fled from the city into voluntary banishment, except Heraclides, and Theodotus, his uncle, who were too well acquainted with Dion not to know that his anger would easily be disarmed by a confession of their fault. The friends of the latter warmly represented to him that he would never be able to root out the spirit of sedition, a still worse evil than tyranny, from the state, if he refused to give up these two criminals to the soldiers, who loudly demanded their punishment: but Dion mildly replied: "Other generals pass their lives in martial labours to obtain success, which they frequently owe only to chance. Educated in the school of Plato, I have learned to triumph over my passions; and to ensure a victory which I may attribute to myself alone, I must pardon and forget offences. Because Heraclides has debased his soul by his perfidies and wickedness, must mine be defiled by anger and revenge? I seek not to excel him in power or abilities; I wish to vanquish him by my virtues, and to recall him to his duty by my benefactions."

In the mean time he blocked the citadel so closely, that the garrison, being in want of provisions, could no longer be made to obey any

discipline.* Apollocrates, obliged to capitulate, obtained permission to depart with his mother, his sister, and his effects, which he carried away in five galleys. The people ran to the sea-side to view the pleasing sight, and enjoy the glorious day on which liberty was at length restored to Syracuse, the last remains of her oppressors expelled, and the most powerful of tyrannies entirely destroyed.

Apollocrates proceeded to join his father Dionysius, who was then in Italy. After his departure, Dion entered the citadel, where Aristomache his sister, and Hipparinus his son, met him, and received his first embraces. Arete followed them, trembling, transfixed with grief, and wishing, yet fearing, to lift up to him her eyes suffused with tears, when Aristomache, taking her by the hand, thus addressed her brother: "How shall it be possible to express all that we have suffered during your absence? Your return and your victories at length permit us to respire. But, alas! my daughter, compelled at the expense of her own happiness and mine to enter into a new union, is wretched, amid the universal joy. In what manner will you view the fatal necessity to which the cruelty of the tyrant has reduced her? Shall she salute you as her uncle or her husband?" Dion, unable to restrain his tears, tenderly embraced his

* Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980. Demosth. in Leptin. 565.

wife, and, having committed his son to her care, entreated her to share with him the humble habitation he had chosen, for he would not dwell in the palace of kings.'

It is not my design to write the panegyric of Dion; I mean simply to relate some of his actions: and though the interesting facts of the narrative in which I have engaged may have perhaps led me too far, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of following, to the close of his days, a man who, placed in every different condition and situation, was ever as unlike to others as he was similar to himself, and whose life would furnish the noblest materials for the history of virtue.

After so many triumphs, he wished to acquit himself, in public and in private, of what he owed to the companions of his labours, and the citizens who had assisted in effecting the revolution. With some he shared his glory, with others his riches. Simple and modest in his dress, and frugal and plain in his diet, he was only magnificent in the exercise of his generosity. While he enforced the admiration, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece; while Plato told him that the eyes of the whole world were fixed on him; he was only attentive to that small number of enlightened specta-

¹Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 980.

²Plat. Epist. 4. t. iii. p. 320.

tors, who, disregarding his exploits and his success, waited to observe him in the moment of prosperity, to bestow on him their esteem or their contempt.*

In his time, in fact, the philosophers had conceived the project of seriously labouring for the reformation of the human race. With this view they had undertaken to form the mind of the Younger Dionysius, who had disappointed their hopes.—Dion had afterwards again revived them, and several disciples of Plato had followed him in his expedition.^y From their ideas, and his own experience, with the assistance of some Corinthians, whom he had induced to come to Syracuse, he traced the plan of a republic, which should conciliate all powers and all interests. He gave the preference to a mixt government, in which the class of the principal citizens should counterbalance the power of the sovereign and that of the people. He even wished that the people should not be called on to vote, except on certain occasions, as was practised at Corinth.^z

He dared not, however, attempt to carry his project into execution, because he foresaw his designs must be opposed by an almost invincible obstacle. Heraclides, since their reconciliation, had never ceased to perplex him by open or

* Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

^y Id. *ibid.* p. 967.

^z Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 335. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

secret intrigues; and, as he was the idol of the multitude, it could not be expected that he would favour a project which would destroy the democracy. The partisans of Dion proposed to him more than once to rid himself of this restless and turbulent man. He had always refused to give his consent to this, but it was at length forced from him by importunity.^b The Syracusans immediately rose, and though he appeased them, they were highly incensed at an action which circumstances might seem to justify in the eyes of the politician, but which filled his soul with remorse, and overclouded with melancholy the remainder of his days.

Delivered from this enemy, he soon found another more perfidious and more dangerous. During his stay in Athens, an Athenian, named Callippus,^c received him into his house, obtained his friendship, of which he was unworthy,^d and followed him into Sicily. Promoted to the first military offices, he justified the choice of his general, and gained the confidence of the troops.

After the death of Heraclides, he perceived that it would cost him but one atrocious action to render himself master of Sicily. The multitude were in need of a chief who would flatter them in their caprices. They feared more and

^a Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. Nep. in Dion. cap. 6.

^b Cornelius Nepos calls him Callicrates. T.

^c Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 333 et 334. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

more lest Dion should despoil them of their authority, to vest it in himself, or bestow it on the class of rich citizens. Among people of understanding, the politicians conjectured that he would not always be able to resist the allurements of a crown,^c and imputed to him their suspicions as a crime. The greater part of those warriors whom he had brought from Peloponnesus, and whom honour had attached to his service, had fallen in battle.^d—In fine, all minds, fatigued with their own inaction and his virtues, regretted the licentiousness and the factions in which they had so long been engaged.

On this situation of affairs Callippus founded his insidious machinations. He began by informing Dion of the true or supposed murmurs which the troops, he said, sometimes suffered to escape them; and even procured himself to be commissioned to sound their dispositions and intentions. He then insinuated himself into the good opinion of the soldiers, fomented their discontents, and communicated his views to those who favoured his advances; while they who rejected them with indignation in vain apprised their general of the secret practices of Callippus; he only saw in his conduct the assiduity and zeal of a faithful friend.^e

The conspiracy made greater progress every

^c Plut. in Brut. p. 1010.

^d Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 981.

^e Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. *ibid.* cap. 8.

day; but Dion would not deign to bestow on it the least attention. He was at length induced to pay some regard to the notices he received from every quarter, and which for some time had alarmed his family; but tormented with the remembrance of the death of Heraclides, ever present to his mind, he declared that he would rather choose to die a thousand times, than to be incessantly taking precautions against his friends and his enemies.^f

In the choice of the former he was not sufficiently careful;^g and when he was convinced that the greater part of those he had supposed his friends were men of base and corrupt minds, he made no use of the discovery; either because he could not believe them capable of such an excess of villany,^h or because he thought he ought to resign himself to his fate. He then no doubt was an instance, that it is possible for virtue itself to be discouraged by the injustice and wickedness of men.

In the mean time his wife and sister assiduously investigated the traces of the conspiracy; which Callippus knowing, he presented himself before them, shedding a flood of tears, and, to persuade them that he was innocent, offered to submit to the most rigorous test. They required

^f Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982.

^g Plat. Epist. 7. p. 333.

^h Id. ibid. p. 351.

from him the great oath. This alone can inspire the hardened villain with terror. He, however, immediately consented to take it, and was conducted into the subterranean recesses of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine. There, after the sacrifices prescribed on such occasions, habited in the robe of one of those goddesses, and holding a lighted torch, he called on them to witness his innocence, and pronounced the most horrible imprecations against himself, should he be perjured. The ceremony ended, he proceeded to prepare every thing for the execution of his project.ⁱ

He chose for it the day of the festival of Proserpine; and having ascertained that Dion had not left his house, he put himself at the head of some soldiers from the island of Zacynthus,^k some of whom surrounded the house, while others forced their way into an apartment on the ground floor, in which Dion was, with several of his friends, who dared not risk their lives to preserve his. The conspirators, who had come without arms, threw themselves on him, and long tortured him in attempting to strangle him; but as he still breathed, some of those without threw a dagger in at the window, with which the assassins immediately stabbed,

ⁱ Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 982. Nep. *ibid.* cap. 8.

^k Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 432.

him to the heart.¹ * Some pretend that Callippus had drawn his sword, but could not prevail on himself to strike his benefactor.^m Thus died Dion, aged about fifty-five years, in the fourth year after his return into Sicily.ⁿ

His death produced a sudden change at Syracuse. The inhabitants, who began to detest him as a tyrant, now lamented him as the author of their liberty. His funerals were celebrated at the expense of the public treasury, and his tomb was erected in the most conspicuous place in the city.^o

Yet, excepting a slight tumult, in which some blood was shed, though not that of the guilty, no person dared to attack the assassins,^p and Callippus peaceably reaped the fruit of his crime. A short time after, the friends of Dion united to revenge his death; but were overpowered. Callippus, defeated in his turn by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius,^q and every where hated and expelled, was constrained to take refuge in Italy, with a remnant of banditti who followed his fortunes, and at length perished miserably, thirteen months after the death of Dion, having been, as is pretended, stabbed with

¹ Plut. in Dion; t. i. p. 993. Nep. *ibid.* cap. 9.

* The year 353 before Christ.

^m Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 334.

ⁿ Nep. in Dion. cap. 10.

^o Id. *ibid.*

^p Plut. in Brut. t. i. p. 1011.

^q Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 346.

the same dagger which had deprived that great man of life.[†]

While the people of Sicily were labouring to destroy tyranny, Athens, which boasts so much of her love of liberty, exhausted herself in vain efforts to bring again under the yoke the states which for some years past had detached themselves from her alliance.* She resolved to seize on Byzantium, and, with this view, dispatched a hundred and twenty galleys under the command of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares, who sailed to the Hellespont, where the fleet of the enemy, nearly of equal force, soon after arrived. On each side preparations were made for battle, when a violent tempest arose. Chares nevertheless proposed to begin the attack; and as the two other generals, more able and prudent, were of a different opinion, he openly accused them to the army, and seized this opportunity to effect their ruin. The people of Athens, when they heard the letters read in which he charged them with treachery, were inflamed with anger, immediately recalled them, and ordered a prosecution to be commenced against them.[‡]

The victories of Timotheus, seventy-five cities which he had united to the republic,[§] the ho-

[†] Plut. in Dion. p. 983.

* See Chap. XXIII.

[‡] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 424.

[§] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 406.

nours which had formerly been paid him, his old age, nor even the justice of his cause, could not all save him from the partiality of his judges. He was condemned to pay a fine of a hundred talents,* and retired to the city of Chalcis in Eubœa,^u filled with indignation against his fellow-citizens, whom he had so often enriched by his conquests, and who after his death manifested a repentance equally late and fruitless.^v He paid on this occasion the tax of the contempt which he had always entertained for Chares. One day, at the election of generals, some mercenary orators, to exclude Iphicrates and Timotheus, highly extolled Chares, to whom they attributed the qualities of a robust athleta. He is, said they, in the vigour of life, and capable of supporting the heaviest fatigues. "Such a man is proper for the army."—"No doubt," said Timotheus, "to carry the baggage."

The condemnation of Timotheus did not appease the fury of the Athenians; nor could it intimidate Iphicrates, who defended himself with intrepidity. The military expression was remarked by which he turned the attention of his judges to the conduct of the general who had plotted his destruction. "My subject hurries me on," said he; "I must open myself a

* 540,000 livres (22,500*l.*)

^u Nep. in Timoth. cap. 3.

^v Id. *ibid.* cap. 4.

^y Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 187. Id. an Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 788.

way through the actions of Chares."² In the course of his defence he apostrophised the orator Aristophon, who had accused him of having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe. "Answer me," said he, with a tone of authority; "would you have been guilty of so infamous an action?" "I certainly should not," replied the orator. "And can you suppose," answered he, "that Iphicrates can have done what Aristophon would not have been base enough to do?"³

To the resources of eloquence he added another, the success of which appeared to him less uncertain. The tribunal was surrounded by several young officers attached to his interests; and he himself let his judges sometimes see a dagger which he wore under his robe. He was acquitted,⁴ and served no more. When some persons remonstrated to him on the violence by which he thus overawed justice, he replied: "I have long borne arms for the safety of my country, and I should be simple indeed if I did not have recourse to them for my own security."⁵

Chares however did not proceed to Byzantium. Under the pretext that he was in want of provisions,⁶ he entered with his army into the

² Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 595.

³ Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 575.

⁴ Nep. in Iphicr. cap. 3. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 3. cap. 9. N° 29.

⁵ Polyæn. ibid.

⁶ Demosth. in Phil. t. i. p. 50.

pay of the satrap Artabazus, who had revolted against Artaxerxes king of Persia, and who was on the point of being overpowered by forces superior to his own.^e The arrival of the Athenians changed the face of affairs. The army of Artaxerxes was defeated, and Chares immediately wrote to the people of Athens that he had obtained over the Persians a victory no less glorious than that of Marathon.^f But this news only occasioned a transient joy. The Athenians, terrified at the complaints and menaces of the king of Persia, recalled their general, and hastened to offer peace and independence to the cities which had thrown off their yoke.^g Thus terminated this war,^{*} equally fatal to both parties. On the one side, several of the confederated states, exhausted of men and money, were obliged to submit to the power of Mausolus king of Caria;^h and on the other, Athens, besides being deprived of the succours she derived from their alliance, lost three of her best generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates.ⁱ Immediately after, another war began,[†] which became general; and, to the

^e Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434.

^f Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1034.

^g Diod. ibid. p. 424.

^{*} Under the archonship of Elpines, which corresponds with the years 356 and 355 before Christ.

^h Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.

ⁱ Nep. in Timoth. cap. 4.

[†] Under the archonship of Agathocles, the year 354 before Christ.

misfortune of Greece, displayed the great abilities of Philip of Macedon.

The Amphictyons, whose principal office is to watch over the interests of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, having assembled, the Thebans, who, in concert with the Thessalians, direct the proceedings of that tribunal, accused the Phocians of having seized on some lands which appertained to the god, and procured them to be condemned to pay a heavy fine.^k The accusers were impelled by the spirit of revenge. The Thessalians still blushed at the victories which the Phocians had formerly gained over them.^l Besides the motives of rivalry which always subsist between neighbouring nations, the city of Thebes was indignant at not having been able to force an inhabitant of Phocis to restore a Theban woman whom he had carried off.^m

The first decree was immediately followed by a second, which consecrated to the god the lands of the Phocians. It besides authorised the Amphictyonic league to take vengeance on the cities which had till then neglected to obey the decrees of the tribunal. This latter clause had reference to the Lacedæmonians, against whom a decree had been passed several

^k Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425.

^l Pausan. lib. 10. cap. i. p. 799.

^m Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 1. p. 560.

years since, which had not yet been carried into execution.ⁿ

In any other circumstances, the Phocians would have feared to brave the danger by which they were menaced. But it was then seen how much great revolutions sometimes depend on trifling causes.^o A short time before two individuals of Phocis, each wishing to obtain a rich heiress for his son, interested the whole nation in their quarrel, and formed two parties, which, in all public deliberations, listened only to the voice of mutual hatred. Therefore, no sooner had some Phocians proposed to submit to the decrees of the Amphictyons, than Philomelus, whose riches and abilities had placed him at the head of the opposite faction, loudly exclaimed, that to give way to injustice was the most flagrant and pernicious of all acts of cowardice; that the Phocians had legitimate claims, not only to the lands which it had been made a crime in them to cultivate, but to the temple of Delphi itself; and that he only asked their confidence in him, to preserve them from the ignominious chastisement decreed against them by the tribunal of the Amphictyons.^p

ⁿ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425 et 430.

^o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390. Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 560.

^p Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 425. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

His rapid eloquence had its full effect on the Phocians. Invested with absolute power, he flew to Lacedæmon, prevailed on king Archidamus to approve his projects, and obtained from him fifteen talents, which, added to fifteen others that he advanced himself, enabled him to take into pay a great number of mercenaries, to seize on the temple, surround it with a wall, and tear down from the columns the defamatory decrees which the Amphictyons had enacted against the states accused of sacrilege. The Locrians in vain hastened to the defence of the sacred place; they were put to flight, and their ravaged country enriched the conquerors.^a The war lasted ten years and some months:^b in the continuation of this work, I shall relate the principal events which happened in that time.

^a Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 426.

^b *Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 415. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 452. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 418 et 455. Pausan. lib. 9. p. 724. Id. lib. 10. p. 802.*

CHAP. LXI.

Letters on the general affairs of Greece, addressed to Anacharsis and Philotas, during their Travels in Egypt and Persia.

DURING my stay in Greece, I had so often heard speak of Egypt and Persia, that I could no longer resist my desire to visit those two kingdoms: Apollodorus had assigned me Philotas to accompany me in my journey, and had promised to inform us of all that passed while we were absent. Others of our friends made us the same promise. Their letters, which I shall here give, sometimes entire, and sometimes by extracts, were on some occasions only a simple journal, and on others accompanied by reflexions.

We set out at the end of the second year of the 106th Olympiad.* The south of Greece then enjoyed profound tranquillity, but the north was disturbed by the war of the Phocians and the enterprises of Philip king of Macedon.

Philomelus, the leader of the Phocians, had fortified himself at Delphi. He sent off am-

* In the spring of the year 354 before Christ.

bassadors on every side, but no person could have imagined that such apparently unimportant disputes would ultimately be the occasion of the ruin of Greece, which a hundred and twenty-six years before had resisted the whole power of Persia.

Philip was engaged in frequent quarrels with the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations. He meditated the conquest of the Grecian cities situate on the frontiers of his kingdom, and of which the greater part were allied or tributary to the Athenians. The latter people, offended that he had kept possession of Amphipolis, which had belonged to them, attempted some hostilities against him, but dared not proceed to an open rupture.

DIOTIMUS BEING ARCHON AT ATHENS.

The 3d year of the 106th Olympiad.

(From the 26th of June of the year 354, to the 14th of July of the year 353, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

GREECE is full of dissensions.* Some condemn the enterprise of Philomelus, and others vindicate it. The Thebans, with the whole body of the Bœotians, the Locrians, and the different nations of Thessaly, having all private injuries to revenge, threaten to take ven-

* Diod. lib. 16. p. 430.

geance for the insult offered to the god of Delphi. The Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and some cities of Peloponnesus, have declared for the Phocians, from hatred to the Thebans.

Philomelus at first protested that he would not touch the treasures of the temple;¹ but, terrified at the preparations of the Thebans, he has seized on a part of those riches, which has enabled him to increase the pay of the mercenaries, who from every side hasten to Delphi. He has successively defeated the Locrians, the Bœotians, and the Thessalians.

Some days since, the army of the Phocians, having entered a close country, unexpectedly met with that of the Bœotians, superior in numbers, and the latter gained a complete victory. Philomelus, covered with wounds, repulsed to an eminence, and surrounded on all sides, chose rather to throw himself from the top of a rock than to fall into the hands of his enemies.²

¹ Diod. lib. 16. p. 429 et 431.

² Id. ibid. p. 432. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUDEMUS.

The 4th year of the 106th Olympiad.

(From the 14th of July of the year 353, to the 3d of July of the year 352, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

IN the last assembly of the Phocians, the persons of most sense advised peace; but Onomarchus, who had collected the shattered remains of the army, so effectually employed his eloquence and influence that it has been determined to continue the war, and to confide to him the same power as Philomelus possessed. He is employed in raising new troops. The gold and silver taken from the sacred treasury have been converted into money, and many of the statues of brass at Delphi into helmets and swords.*

A report has prevailed that Artaxerxes, king of Persia, was preparing to turn his arms against Greece. Nothing was talked of but his immense preparations. It was said that not less than twelve hundred camels would be necessary to carry the gold intended for the pay of the troops.†

The assembly met tumultuously. In the midst of the public alarm, some persons proposed to call on all the Grecian states, and even

* Diod. lib. 16. p. 433. † Demosth. de Class. p. 136.

the king of Macedonia,² to unite for the general defence of Greece; to anticipate Artaxerxes, and to carry the war into his dominions. Demosthenes, who, after having distinguished himself in his pleadings in the courts of justice, has lately taken an active part in public affairs, spoke in opposition to this proposal; but he strongly insisted on the necessity of putting ourselves in a state of defence. He has foreseen and provided for every thing; stated what number of ships, what infantry, and what cavalry will be necessary, and in what manner the requisite supplies may be raised. The discernment of the orator has been greatly applauded. In fact, such prudent measures will be of the highest utility to us against Artaxerxes, should he invade Greece, and against our present enemies, should he have no such design.³ It has been since known that the king of Persia had no thoughts of attacking us, and we have no longer thought seriously of any thing.

I know not how to accustom myself to these periodical excesses⁴ of despondence and confidence; we pass in a moment from despair to exultation. An individual who never acquires experience by his errors is deservedly abandoned to his folly; but in what light must we view a whole nation which, solely occupied

² Lit. Phil. ap. Demosth. p. 114.

³ Demosth. de Rhod. p. 114.

by the present, bestows not a thought on either the past or future, and which forgets its fears, as a flash of lightning or peal of thunder is forgotten when it is past.

The greater part of the people of Athens speak of the king of Persia with dread, and of the king of Macedon with contempt.^b They do not observe that the latter prince has not failed for some time to take every opportunity to make incursions into our territories; that he has seized on our islands of Imbros and Lemnos; that he has loaded with chains such of our citizens as had settled on those countries: that he has taken several of our ships on the coasts of Eubœa; and that still more recently he has made a descent on Attica, at Marathon, and carried off the sacred galley.^c This insult, offered to us at the very place which was formerly the scene of our glory, has made us blush; but with us the colour of shame soon disappears.

Philip is continually present every where. No sooner had he quitted our shores than he flew to the maritime parts of Thrace, took the fortress of Methone, demolished it, and distributed the fertile fields around it to his soldiers, of whom he is the idol.

During the siege of that city, he swam over the river.^d An arrow shot by an archer, or

from a machine, struck him in the right eye;^e and, notwithstanding the extreme pain he must have suffered, he regained the bank from which he had swummed. His physician Critobulus has extracted the arrow with great skill;^f the eye is not disfigured, but it is deprived^g of sight.*

This accident has not diminished his ardour: he is now besieging the fortress of Heræa, to which we have just claims. Athens is in commotion, and the general assembly has passed a decree to raise a contribution of sixty talents,[†] fit out forty galleys, and enrol those who have not attained their forty-fifth year.[‡] These preparations require time; the winter approaches, and the expedition must be deferred till the ensuing summer.

In the midst of the alarm occasioned by the projects of the Persian monarch, and the enterprises of the king of Macedon, ambassadors arrived from the king of Lacedæmon, and others at the same time from the Megalopolitans, whose city he has besieged. Archidamus pro-

^e Strab. lib. 7. p. 330; lib. 8. p. 374. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434. Justin. lib. 7. cap. 6.

^f Plin. lib. 7. cap. 37. p. 395.

* A parasite who followed Philip, named Clidemus, after that prince was wounded, appeared with a plaster on his eye. (Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 9. cap. 7.)

† 324,000 livres (13,500*l.*)

[‡] Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 35.

‡ Towards the month of October, in the year 353 before Christ.

posed to us to join the Lacedæmonians, and restore the cities of Greece to the situation in which they were before the late wars. All usurpations and encroachments were to be given back, and all new settlements destroyed. The Thebans have taken from us Oropus; they were to be forced to restore it: they have razed Thespiæ and Platæa; they should be rebuilt: they have founded Megalopolis in Arcadia, to restrain the incursions of the Lacedæmonians; it should be demolished. The orators and citizens were divided in their opinions; Demosthenes^b clearly showed that the execution of this project would indeed weaken the Thebans our enemies, but must increase the power of the Lacedæmonians our allies, and that our safety depended entirely on our being able to maintain a proper balance between those two republics. Both parties have united to support his opinion with their suffrages.

In the mean time, the Phocians have furnished the Lacedæmonians with troops, and the Thebans and other states have sent assistance to the Megalopolitans. Many battles have already been fought, and, after much bloodshed, peace will soon be concluded.^c

The war in the northern provinces of Greece, has not been less murderous and destructive. The Phocians, Bœotians, and Thessalians, by

^b Demosth. pro Megalop. p. 154.

^c Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 438.

turns conquerors and conquered, continue a contest which religion and national jealousy render extremely cruel. An incident that has lately happened presents but a melancholy prospect. Lycophron, tyrant of Pheræ in Thessaly, has entered into a league with the Phocians to subjugate the Thessalians. The latter have implored the assistance of Philip, who has immediately hastened to their succour. After some indecisive actions, two successive defeats have obliged him to retire into Macedonia. It was imagined that he was reduced to the last extremity, and his soldiers began to desert, when, on a sudden, he again appeared in Thessaly. His troops, and those of the Thessalians his allies, amounted to more than twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Onomarchus, at the head of twenty thousand foot, and three hundred horse, had joined Lycophron. The Phocians, after an obstinate resistance, have been defeated, and driven towards the sea-shore, from which was seen at a distance the fleet of the Athenians, commanded by Chares. The greater part of the fugitives, having thrown themselves into the sea to swim to the Athenian ships, perished, with Onomarchus their general, whose body Philip caused to be hung on a gibbet. The loss of the Phocians is very considerable; six thousand were slain in the battle, and three thousand, who had surrendered prisoners at discretion,

have been thrown into the sea as wretches guilty of sacrilege.^k

The Thessalians, by joining with Philip, have thrown down the barrier which obstructed the progress of his ambition. For some years, he had suffered the Greeks to enfeeble each other, and from his throne, as from a watch-tower,^l had waited the moment when some one of the contending parties should solicit his assistance. He is now authorised to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Every where the multitude, unable to penetrate his intentions, believe him inflamed with a zeal for religion; on every side, they exclaim that he has owed his victory to the sanctity of the cause which he supported, and that the gods have chosen him to avenge the insult offered to their altars. He had himself foreseen the advantages to be derived from such an opinion; and, before the battle, had commanded his soldiers to crown themselves with laurels, as if he marched to the attack in the name of the divinity of Delphi, to whom that tree is consecrated.^m

Intentions so pure, and success so splendid, have exalted the admiration of the Greeks to enthusiasm. We hear of nothing but this prince, his extraordinary abilities and exemplary virtues. The following is an anecdote which is related of him.

^k Diod. lib. 16. p. 435. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 2. p. 802.

^l Justin. lib. 8. cap. 1. ^m Id. ibid. cap. 2.

He had in his army a soldier renowned for his bravery, but insatiably avaricious.^a The soldier had embarked for some distant expedition, and, his vessel having been lost, he was cast, half dead, upon the shore. A Macedonian, who cultivated a small field in the neighbourhood, hearing of his misfortune, hastened to his assistance, preserved his life, took him to his house, gave up to him his bed, and during a whole month attended him with unwearied assiduity, and afforded him every aid which pity and humanity could suggest. He afterward furnished him with the money necessary to enable him to return to Philip. You shall be convinced of my gratitude, said the soldier at parting, should I ever again see the king my master. He arrived, related to Philip his misfortune, but said not a word of him to whose humanity he was indebted for his life. As a recompense for his sufferings in the service of his sovereign, he asked a small house near the place to which he had been carried by the waves, and which was no other than the house of his benefactor. The king immediately granted his request; but being soon after informed of the whole truth of the transaction, by a letter from the owner of the house, written with much frankness and spirit, he expressed the highest indignation, and commanded the

governor of the province to put the latter again in possession of his dwelling, and to brand the forehead of the soldier with a mark of infamy.

This action has been extolled to the skies: I approve without admiring it. Philip himself deserved more to be punished than the ungrateful and rapacious soldier; for the subject who solicits an unjust grant is less culpable than the prince who bestows it without examination. What then ought Philip to have done after having branded the soldier with infamy? To have renounced the wretched prerogative of being generous with the property of another, and to have engaged, by a solemn promise to all his subjects, never again to be so inattentive in the distribution of his favours.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARISTODEMUS.

The 11th year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 3d of July of the year 352, to the 22d of July of the year 351, before Christ.

LETTER OF APOLLQDORUS.

I HAVE mentioned, in one of my former letters, that, to prevent the excursions of Philip, and confine him to his own dominions, it had been resolved to raise sixty talents, and send

After about eleven months employed in preparations, we have at last raised five talents,* and fitted out two galleys,^o the command of which was to be given to Charidemus. He was just ready to sail, when a report was spread that Philip was sick, that he was dead; on which we immediately disarmed, while Philip immediately marched toward Thermopylæ. He was about to fall on Phocis,^p from whence he might easily have entered Attica, but fortunately we had a fleet on the neighbouring coast, which was conveying a body of troops to the assistance of the Phocians. Nausiclus, their general, immediately landed them as soon as possible, and took possession of the defile; on which Philip abandoned his design, and retired toward Macedonia.^q

We have been much elated at this event. Our allies have congratulated us on it, and we have decreed thanksgivings to the gods, and eulogiums to the troops.^r Wretched city! in which to take possession of a post without opposition is esteemed an act of bravery, and to escape defeat a subject of triumph!

Some days since, the general assembly took

* 27,000 livres (1,125*l.*)

^o Demosth. Olynth. 3. p. 35.

^p Diod. lib. 16. p. 437.

^q Id. *ibid.* p. 436. Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 49. Oros. lib. 3. cap. 12.

^r Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 306. Ulp. *ibid.* p. 365.

into consideration our disputes with the king of Macedon. Demosthenes ascended the rostrum,¹ and painted in the strongest colours the indolence and frivolity of the Athenians, the ignorance and absurd measures of their leaders, and the ambition and activity of Philip.

He proposed to fit out a fleet, to raise a body of troops, composed, at least in part, of citizens,² to carry the war into Macedonia, and not to terminate it, except by an advantageous treaty, or a decisive victory.³ For, said he, unless we speedily attack Philip in his own dominions, it will probably not be long before he attacks us in ours.⁴ He fixed the number of soldiers which it would be necessary to enrol, and proposed means for providing for their subsistence.

Such measures would disconcert the schemes of Philip, and prevent him from making war on us at the expense of our allies, whose ships he seizes with impunity.⁵ They would at the same time re-animate the courage of those who have been obliged to throw themselves into his arms, and who bear the yoke of his alliance with that fear and hatred which the pride of an ambitious prince inspires.⁶

Demosthenes explained and enforced what

¹ Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 47.

² Id. ibid. p. 49.

³ Id. ibid. p. 52.

⁴ Id. ibid. p. 50.

⁵ Id. ibid. p. 54.

⁶ Id. ibid. p. 48.

he proposed with equal perspicuity and energy. He possesses that eloquence which compels his hearers to recognise themselves and their conduct in the mortifying picture which he drew of their past errors and present situation.

“ See,” exclaimed he, “ to what a height of audacity Philip has at length arrived.* He deprives you of the choice of war or peace, braves you with his menaces, and talks, as we are informed, in the most insolent style. Not satisfied with his former acquisitions, he is still in pursuit of further conquests, and, while we sit down inactive and irresolute, incloses us on all sides with his toils. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? When forced by some necessity. Just Heaven! what more urgent necessity can there be to freemen than the disgrace attendant on misconduct? Will you perpetually walk about in the public places, each inquiring of the other, ‘ What new advices?’ Can any thing be more new than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece?— ‘ Is Philip dead?—No; but dangerously ill.’—How are you concerned in those rumours? Even should he die, you would soon raise up another Philip by your negligence and cowardice.

* Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 48.

“ You lose the time for action in frivolous deliberations. Your generals, instead of appearing at the head of your armies, parade in the processions of your priests, to add splendor to the public ceremonies.^b Your armies are only composed of mercenaries, the dregs of foreign nations, vile robbers, who lead their chiefs rather than are led by them, sometimes into the countries of your allies, of whom they are the terror, and sometimes to those of the barbarians, who deprive you of them at the very time when you most want their assistance.^c Indecision and confusion prevail in your preparations;^d your projects have neither plan nor foresight. You are the slaves of circumstances, and opportunities perpetually escape you. Like unskilful boxers, you never think of guarding against a blow until you have received it. If you hear that Philip is in the Chersonesus, immediately you pass a decree to send forces thither. If he is said to be at Thermopylæ, instantly another decree passes for the troops to march thither. You hurry up and down, and follow wherever he himself conducts you, but only arrive time enough to be witnesses of his success.”^e

The whole harangue is full of similar strokes. The style of Thucydides, which the orator pro-

^b Demosth. Philip. 1. p. 51.

^d Id. *ibid.* p. 52.

^c Id. *ibid.* p. 50.

^e Id. *ibid.* p. 53.

posed to himself as a model, it is said, is distinctly perceivable in it.^f As I left the assembly, I heard many of the Athenians lavishing their praises on Demosthenes, and inquiring what news from the Phocians.

You will perhaps put to me the same question. They were supposed to be without resource after the victory of Philip, but they have the treasures of Delphi at their disposal; and, as they have increased the pay of their troops, they attract to their standard ~~all~~ the mercenaries who roam over Greece. The last campaign has produced nothing decisive: they have lost some battles, and they have gained some; they have ravaged the country of the Locrians, while their own has been laid waste by the Thebans.^g

Our friends, who much regret your absence, continue to meet from time to time at my house. Yesterday evening the question was proposed, Why great men are so rare, and only appear at intervals? The debate on it continued a long time. Chrysophilus denied the fact, and maintained that Nature does not favour one age or country more than another. Would fame, added he, ever have celebrated Lycurgus, if he had been born a slave? or Homer, if he had lived at a time when the language of his

^f Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. cap. 53. t. vi. p. 944.

^g Diod. lib. 16. p. 436, &c.

country was not yet formed? Who can affirm, that, in our time, among civilised or barbarous nations, we might not find other Homers or Lycurguses employed in the discharge of the vilest functions? Nature, ever free and ever rich in her productions, scatters minds endowed with genius over the earth, but circumstances alone can expand and perfect their powers.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THESSALUS.

The 2d year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 22d of July of the year 351, to the 11th of July of the year 350, before Christ).

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

ARTEMISIA, queen of Caria, is dead; she has survived her brother and husband Mausolus only two years.^b You know that Mausolus was one of those kings whom the court of Susa keeps as it were in garrison on the frontiers of the empire, to defend its entrance. It is said, that his wife, who governed him, having gathered up his ashes, mixed them, from an excess of affection, with her drink.ⁱ Her grief is also said to have been the cause of her

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 443.

ⁱ Aul. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 18. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6. extern. N° 1.

death.^k She has, however, pursued, with no less ardour, the ambitious projects with which she had inspired him. By adding treachery^l to a concurrence of some fortunate circumstances, he acquired possession of the islands of Cos, Rhodes, and several Grecian cities, and Artemisia has retained them in obedience.^m

Observe, I intreat you, how false and fatal are the ideas which govern this world, and especially those which sovereigns form to themselves of power and glory. Had Artemisia understood the true interests of her husband, she would have taught him to leave fraud and oppression to extensive empires, and to found his own power and honour on the happiness of his province and the love of the people, who only ask of their governors not to be treated as enemies. But she wished to make of him a species of conqueror. Both were lavish of the blood and fortunes of their subjects;ⁿ and with what view? To embellish the little city of Halicarnassus, and render illustrious the memory of a petty viceroy of the king of Persia.

Artemisia neglected no means which she imagined might bestow immortality on her

^k Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. in Ἀρτεμ. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656.
Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 3. cap. 31. t. ii. p. 326.

^l Demosth. de Rhod. Libert. p. 144.

^m Id. ibid. p. 147.

ⁿ Theop. ap. Harpocr. in Μαύσωλ.

husband. She invited, by rewards, the most distinguished men of genius to employ themselves in recording the actions of Mausolus. Poems and tragedies have been written in his honour, and the orators of Greece solicited to compose his eulogium. Many of them have entered the lists,^o and Isocrates and some of his disciples have become competitors. Theopompus, who is employed in writing the history of Greece, has carried off the prize from his master, and had the weakness to boast of his success.^p I one day asked him whether, while writing the panegyric of a man whose sordid avarice had ruined so many families, the pen did not frequently drop from his hand?^q He answered: I have now spoken as an orator; another time I shall speak as an historian. Such is the falsehood and baseness of which eloquence permits itself to be guilty, and which we have the meanness to pardon.

Artemisia at the same time caused to be built for Mausolus a tomb, which apparently will only immortalise the artists employed in its construction. I have seen the plan of it: it is a long square, four hundred and eleven feet in circuit. The principal part of the edi-

^o Aul. Gell. 10. cap. 18. Plut. X. Rhet. Vit. t. iii. p. 838. Suid. in Isocr. Taylor, Lect. Lys. cap. 3.

^p Theop. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 464.

^q Theop. ap. Harpocr. et. Suid. in Μουσώλ.

fice; surrounded by thirty-six columns; is to be decorated on its four fronts by four of the most famous sculptors in Greece, Briaxis, Scopas, Leochares, and Timotheus.—Above is to be a pyramid, on which is to be placed a car with four horses. The car will be of marble, and by the hand of Pythis. The total height of the monument is to be one hundred and forty feet.*

It is already in great forwardness; and as Idrieus, who succeeds his sister Artemisia, does not interest himself so much as the late queen in its completion, the artists have declared that they will consider it as an honour and duty to finish it without requiring any reward.† The foundations have been laid in the middle of an open place laid out by Mausolus,‡ on a piece of ground naturally disposed in the form of a theatre, which extends in a descent to the sea. The traveller, when he enters the harbour, cannot but survey the scene which presents itself with admiration. On one side is the royal palace, and on the other the temple of Venus and Mercury, situate near the fountain of Salmacis. In front, the public market extends along the

† Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 728.

* If Pliny, in the description of the monument, made use of Grecian measures, the 411 feet in circumference will be reduced to 388 feet 2 inches French (413½ feet Eng.); and the 140 feet in height to 132 feet 2 inches 8 lines French (140 feet 7 inches Eng.) ‡ Plin. ibid. § Vitruv. lib. 2. cap. 8.

shore; beyond which is the open place above-mentioned; and still farther, the citadel and temple of Mars, on the top of which is a colossal statue. The tomb of Mausolus, intended to fix the eye after it has rested a moment on these ~~superb~~ edifices, will no doubt be one of the ~~finest~~ monuments in the world;” but it should have been consecrated to the memory of a benefactor to mankind.

Idrieus, when he ascended the throne, received orders from Artaxerxes to send a body of auxiliaries against the kings of Cyprus, who have revolted. Phocion commands them, in conjunction with Evagoras, who formerly reigned in that island. Their intention is to begin by the siege of Salamis.*

The king of Persia has more extensive views: he is making preparations for the conquest of Egypt. I hope you will already have taken proper measures for your security. He has demanded troops from us, and from the other states of Greece. We have refused him, and so also have the Lacedæmonians: it is sufficient for us that we have let him have Phocion. The Grecian cities of Asia have already promised him six thousand men. Thebes will furnish him with one thousand, and Argos with three thousand, which will be commanded by Nico-

* Vitruv. lib. 2. cap. 8. Strab. lib. 14. p. 656. Plin. *ibid.*

stratus, an able general, but whose phrensy it is to imitate Hercules. In battle, he wears a lion-skin over his shoulders, and carries a club in his hand. He is sent by the particular desire of Artaxerxes.[†]

For some time past we have let out for hire our generals, soldiers, and sailors, to the kings of Persia, who have always been very desirous to have Greeks in their service, for whom they pay a great price. Various motives compel our republics to consent to this traffic; the necessity of ridding themselves of foreign meroenaries, whom the peace renders useless, and who are a burthen to the state; the desire of procuring for their citizens, impoverished by war, a pay that may restore their fortunes; the fear of losing the protection and alliance of the great king; and, lastly, the hope of obtaining such a pecuniary donation as may replenish the exhausted public treasury. The Thebans have just received from Artaxerxes[‡] the sum of three hundred talents.* We are insulted by a king of Macedon, and bought by a king of Persia: are we not sufficiently degraded?

† Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 442.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 438.

* 1,620,000 livres (67,500*l.*)

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF APOLLODORUS.

The third year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 11th of July of the year 350, to the 30th of June of the year 349, before Christ.)

We received the three following Letters on the same day.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I LAUGH at the fears with which many people wish to fill us. The power of Philip can never be durable; it is only founded on perfidy, falsehood, and perjury.^a He is detested by his allies, whom he has frequently deceived; by his subjects and soldiers, harassed and exhausted by expeditions from which they derive no advantage; by the principal officers of his army, who are punished if they do not succeed in an enterprise, and mortified if they do, for he is so jealous that he would sooner pardon them a shameful defeat than too brilliant success. They live in mortal fear, ever exposed to the slanders of the courtiers, and the envious suspicions of a prince who has reserved to himself all the glory that can be acquired in Macedon.^b

His kingdom is in a deplorable situation; its harvests fail, its commerce is destroyed. Poor

^a Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22. Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 7. p. 612. Justin. lib. 9. cap. 8.

^b Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23; et ad Philip. Epist. p. 118.

and weak in itself, it is still more enfeebled by its aggrandisement.^c The slightest reverse of fortune will overturn that prosperity which Philip owes only to the incapacity of our generals, and to the methods of corruption which he has so shamefully but so successfully employed throughout Greece.^d

His partisans extol his personal qualities ; but I will repeat to you what I have heard from those who have had opportunities to view him near, and observe his real character.

Propriety and regularity of manners cannot procure his esteem, but vice is almost always rewarded with his friendship.^e He disdains the man who is only virtuous, repulses the man of knowledge and experience who gives him advice,^f and courts flattery with as much eagerness as flattery courts other princes. Whoever would please, obtain his favour, and be admitted to his private parties, must have a constitution strong enough to partake in his debauchery, and talents to amuse him and excite his laughter. A few pleasantries, strokes of satire, witticisms, verses, and obscene songs, are sufficient to obtain his highest favour ; on which account, if we except Antipater, Parmenio, and two or three other men of merit, his court is only a

^c Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23 ; et ad Philip. Epist. p. 118.

^d Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.

^e Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260.

^f Isocr. Ep. ad Philip. t. i. p. 437.

wretched assembly of knaves, musicians, poets, and buffoons,^g who applaud him right or wrong. Persons of this description throng to Macedon from every part of Greece.

Callias, who is so expert a buffoon; Callias, not long since the public slave of this city, from which he has been driven, is now one of his principal courtiers.^h Agathocles, another slave, has raised himself to preferment by the same means; Philip, to reward him, has placed him at the head of a detachment of his troops:ⁱ and, lastly, Thrasydæus, the silliest and grossest of flatterers, has just obtained a sovereignty in Thessaly.^k

These despicable men are publicly called the friends of the king, and the scourges of Macedon;^l their number is excessive, and their power boundless. Not satisfied with the treasures which he lavishes on them, they persecute the honest citizens, and despoil them of their property, or sacrifice them to their revenge.^m With them he riots in the most shameful intemperance, passing whole nights in drinking, almost continually intoxicated and furious, striking every one who approaches him, and

^g Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23. Theop. ibid. lib. 10. p. 439. Id. ap. Polyb. in Excerpt. Val. p. 21.

^h Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 24.

ⁱ Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 259.

^k Id. ibid. cap. 13. p. 249.

^l Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 167.

^m Id. ibid. lib. 6. p. 260.

committing excesses which cannot be recollected without a blush."

It is not only within the walls of his palace that he thus degrades the dignity of the throne, but he dishonours it in the face of nations. Have we not seen him, when lately he was among the Thessalians, so famed for their intemperance, invite them to frequent entertainments, intoxicate himself with them, amuse them with his pleasantries, leap, dance, and act by turns the part of the buffoon and pantomime? *

No, Anacharsis, never can I believe that such a stage-player was born to enslave Greece.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

Received on the same day with the preceding.

I CANNOT get rid of my fears for the present state of Greece. In vain do I hear my countrymen boast of the number of its inhabitants, the valour of its soldiers, and the splendor of their ancient victories. In vain am I told that Philip will set bounds to his conquests, and that his enterprises have hitherto been coloured by specious pretexts. I fear the insufficiency of our means of defence, and I distrust his real intentions.

* Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260; lib. 10. cap. 10. p. 439.

* Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 17. p. 260.

The states of Greece are enfeebled and corrupted ; they have no longer laws or citizens, any idea of real glory, or zeal for the good of the country : every where we only see vile mercenaries in the place of soldiers, and plunderers instead of generals.

Our republics will never unite against Philip. Some are engaged in a war which must complete their destruction, and others have nothing in common but jealousies and claims which must prevent their union.^p The example of Athens might perhaps make a greater impression on them than their private interests ; but here nothing is seen but festivals and shows. We endure the insults of Philip with the same courage as our forefathers braved dangers. The impetuous eloquence of Demosthenes cannot rouse us from our supineness. When I see him ascend the rostrum, I seem to hear him cry amidst the tombs of our ancient warriors: Ye ashes extinct, ye dry bones, arise, and defend your country !

On the other side, observe that Philip, the single confident of his own secrets, the sole dispenser of his treasures, the most able general of Greece, the bravest soldier in his army, foresees, conceives, and executes every thing himself; anticipates events, derives advantage from them when that is possible, and yields to them when

^p Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 102. Id. de Coron. p. 475.

to yield is necessary.^a Remember that his troops are extremely well disciplined;^b that he exercises them continually; that in time of peace he makes them perform marches of three hundred stadia,* with arms and baggage;^c that at all times he is at their head; that he removes them with an alarming expedition from one extremity of his kingdom to the other; and that they have learned of him to make no difference between summer and winter, between fatigue and rest.^d Recollect, that if the interior country of Macedonia exhibits marks of the calamities of war, he has found abundant resources in the gold mines which belong to him, in the spoils of the cities and states he has conquered, and in the trade of the nations which begin to frequent the ports he has made himself master of in Thessaly. Observe, that, since he has been on the throne, he has proposed to himself but one object, which he has had the courage leisurely to prosecute; that he takes no step without mature reflexion, nor proceeds to a second till he is assured of the success of the first; that he is besides actuated by an insatiable thirst of glory, which he seeks in the midst of dangers, in the thickest of the battle, and

^a Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 1.

^b Id. Olynth. 2. p. 23.

* More than eleven leagues.

^c Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 4. cap. 2. § 10.

^d Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 92. Id. ad Philip. Epist. p. 119.

wherever it may be dearest purchased.^a Remember, in fine, that his operations are always guided by times and places. The frequent revolts of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations, he quells with his victorious armies; while he attacks the states of Greece with incursions to try their strength, apologies to justify his enterprises, artifices to divide and enfeeble them, and the poison of corruption to reduce them to slavery.^b

He has infected them with that destructive and fatal contagion which withers honour to the roots:^c he retains in his pay the public orators, the principal citizens, and even entire cities. Sometimes he gives up his conquests to his allies, who thus become the instruments of his ambition till they may be made its victims.^d As men of genius and abilities have always considerable influence on the public opinion, he maintains with them a constant correspondence,^e and offers them an asylum at his court when they are dissatisfied with the treatment they receive from their country.^f

His partisans are so numerous, and when oc-

^a Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 23.

^b Id. de Cor. p. 475 et 482. Justin. lib. 9. cap. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 451.

^c Demosth. de Halon. p. 71. De Fals. Leg. p. 334, 341, &c.

^d Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 315.

^e Isocr. Ep. ad Phil.

^f Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 414.

casion requires, so well seconded by his secret negotiations, that, notwithstanding the doubts which may be entertained of the regard he pays to his word or oath, and notwithstanding all ought to be convinced that his hatred is less fatal than his friendship, the Thessalians have not hesitated to throw themselves into his arms, and many other states wait only a fit opportunity to follow their example.

Yet an idea of feebleness is still annexed to his power, because we have as yet only seen it in its infancy. I have heard many persons, and even men of good understanding, say, that the projects attributed to Philip are much beyond the strength of his kingdom; as if the question merely related to Macedonia, such as it formerly was, and not rather to an empire which, during ten years, has been forming by progressive and consolidated augmentations, and to a prince whose genius increases a hundred fold the resources of his states, and whose activity, no less astonishing, multiplies in the same proportion the number of his troops and the moments of his life.

In vain may we flatter ourselves that his life is passed in licentiousness and debauchery; in vain may calumny represent him to us as the most despicable and dissolute of men.* The

* Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 22.

time which other sovereigns lose in the insipidity of indolence he gives to his pleasures; and that which they bestow on their pleasures he dedicates to the interests of his kingdom. Would to heaven that, instead of the vices attributed to him, he had other defects; that he was devoid of penetration, obstinate in his opinions, inattentive in his choice of ministers and generals, and that he conducted his enterprises without vigilance, or any regular plan! Philip has perhaps the defect of admiring men of wit, as if he himself did not possess more than any person. A stroke of pleasantry may please, but cannot govern him.

In fine, our orators, to inspire the people with confidence, incessantly tell them that a power founded on injustice and perfidy cannot subsist. Without doubt, it could not, if other states were not equally perfidious and unjust; but the reign of virtue is over, and it now is force alone that governs mankind.

My dear Anacharsis, when I reflect on the astonishing progress which Philip has made in a few years, and when I think on that assemblage of eminent qualities and favourable circumstances of which I have here given you the sketch, I cannot avoid concluding that Philip was born to enslave Greece.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

Received on the same day with the two preceding letters.

I ADORE Philip: he loves glory, genius, women,^d and wine. On the throne he is the greatest of kings,^e in society the most amiable of men. How does he exhibit to advantage the wit of others; and how much are others enchanted with that which he himself displays! What ease and politeness in his manner! what taste in all he says, and what grace in all he does!

The king of Macedon is sometimes obliged to treat the vanquished harshly; but Philip is humane, mild, affable,^f and essentially good: I am sure he is, for he wishes to be beloved;^g and besides I have heard it said by I know not whom, perhaps by myself, that whoever is such a friend to mirth and pleasantry can never be base and cruel.

His anger is kindled and extinguished in a moment. Without gall or rancour, he is as much superior to offence as to praise. Our orators load him with the most insolent re-

^d Athen. lib. 13. p. 578. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. t. ii. p. 141. Id. Apophth. p. 178.

^e Cicero. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. iii. p. 203.

^f Id. ibid.

^g Justin. lib. 9. cap. 8.

proaches, and his subjects themselves frequently tell him disagreeable truths. He says that he is under obligations to the former, because they teach him to correct his faults;^b and to the latter, because they instruct him in his duties. A woman of the lower class of people came to him, entreating him to terminate her law-suit. I have not time, answered he. Why then do you continue on the throne? returned she. He felt the force of this reply, and immediately not only heard and decided her suit, but ordered all the causes which were pending to be brought before him.ⁱ Another time he fell asleep during the pleadings, and yet condemned one of the parties to pay a fine. "I appeal," exclaimed the person against whom he gave sentence. "And to whom do you appeal?" "To the king, when more attentive." Immediately he revised the proceedings, acknowledged his error, and paid himself the fine he had imposed.^k

Would you know whether he forgets the services which have been rendered him? He had received some from Philon while he was a hostage at Thebes, ten years ago at least. Not long since the Thebans sent deputies to him, among the number of whom was Philon. The king wished to load him with his favours;^l and meet-

^b Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

ⁱ Id. ibid. p. 179.

^k Id. ibid. p. 178.

^l Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 314.

ing only with refusals, "Why," said he, "do you envy me the glory and pleasure of excelling you in conferring benefits?"^m

After the taking of a certain city, one of the prisoners who were put up to sale claimed his friendship. The king, surprised, ordered him to be brought near him. He was sitting, and the stranger whispered him: Let your robe fall lower, for your posture at present is not decent. He is right, exclaimed Philip, he is my friend; let him be set at liberty.ⁿ

I might relate to you a thousand anecdotes of his mildness and moderation. His courtiers advised him to punish severely Nicanor, who was incessantly blaming his administration and his conduct: but he replied: "This man is not the worst of the Macedonians, and perhaps I am in fault for having neglected him." He immediately inquired into his case, learned that Nicanor was irritated by his necessities, and afforded him relief. Nicanor afterwards only spoke of him in terms of the highest eulogium; and Philip said to his accusers: "You now see that it depends on a king to cause or prevent the complaints of his subjects."^o Some other person having indulged in severe but witty pleasantries at his expense, the courtiers proposed to the king to banish him. "I shall take

^m Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

^o Id. ibid. p. 177.

care not to do that," said Philip; "for he will then go and say every where else what he has said here." ^p

At the siege of some town, he had his collar-bone broken by a stone. The surgeon who dressed his wound asked him to grant him a favour. ^q "I cannot refuse you," said Philip, smiling; "for you have me by the throat." *

His court is the asylum of genius and pleasure; magnificence shines in his festivals, and wit and mirth preside at his entertainments. These are facts. I trouble myself but little about his ambition. Can you suppose it any great misfortune to live under such a prince? If he comes to attack us, we shall fight him; and if we are vanquished, he will only require us to laugh and drink with him.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF CALLIMACHUS.

The fourth year of the 107th Olympiad.

(From the 30th of June of the year 349, to the 18th of July of the year 348, before Christ.) •

WHILE we were in Egypt and Persia, we availed ourselves of every opportunity to

^p Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177.

^q Id. ibid.

* The original text says, "Take what you please, for you have the key in your hand." The Greek word which signifies the collar-bone, means also a key.

transmit to our friends at Athens an account of what we had observed in our travels. Among all my papers, I have only found the following fragment of a letter, which I wrote to Apollodorus some time after our arrival at Susa, one of the capitals of Persia.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER OF ANACHARSIS.

WE have passed through several provinces of this vast empire. At Persepolis, though our eyes have been for some years familiarised to the monuments of Egypt, we beheld with astonishment the tombs excavated in the rock to a prodigious elevation, and the palace of the Persian kings. The latter, it is said, was built near two centuries ago, under the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes, by Egyptian workmen, whom Cambyses had brought into Persia.^r A triple enclosure of walls, one of which is sixty cubits high; * gates of brass; innumerable columns, some seventy feet in height; large blocks of marble, sculptured in bas-relief, and containing an infinite number of figures; † subterranean passages, in which are deposited immense sums; all display magnificence and fear,

^r Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 43.

* 85 French (or 90½ English) feet.

† Chardin. Corn. Le Bruyn, &c.

for this palace serves at the same time as a citadel.¹

The kings of Persia have caused other palaces to be built, less sumptuous indeed, but of wonderful beauty, at Susa, Ecbatana, and in all the cities in which they pass the different seasons of the year.

They have also spacious parks which they call *paradises*,² and which are divided into two parts. In the one, armed with arrows and javelins, they pursue, on horseback, through the forests, the deer which are shut up in them;³ and in the other, in which the art of gardening has exhausted its utmost efforts, they cultivate the most beautiful flowers, and gather the most delicious fruits. They are not less attentive to adorn these parks with superb trees, which they commonly dispose in the form called quincunx.⁴ In various places we meet with similar paradises, which belong to the satraps or the grandees.⁵

But our attention was still more engaged by the conspicuous protection and encouragement which the sovereign grants to agriculture, and that not by some transient favours and rewards, but an enlightened vigilance, more powerful

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 554.

² Bris. de Regn. Pers. lib. 1. p. 109.

³ Xenoph. de Instit. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 11.

⁴ Id. Mem. lib. 5. p. 829.

⁵ Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 1. p. 246. Quint. Curt. lib. 8. cap. 1.

than edicts and laws. He appoints over every district two superintendants, one for military and the other for civil affairs. The office of the former is to preserve the public tranquillity, and that of the latter to promote the progress of industry and agriculture. If one of these should not discharge his duty, the other may complain of him to the governor of the province, or the sovereign himself, who, from time to time, visits a part of his dominions. If the monarch sees the country covered with trees, harvests, and all the productions of which the soil is capable, he heaps honours on the two officers, and enlarges their government; but if he finds the lands uncultivated, they are directly displaced, and others appointed in their stead. Commissioners of incorruptible integrity exercise the same justice in the districts through which the sovereign does not pass.*

In Egypt, we had often heard speak with the greatest eulogiums of that Arsames whom the king of Persia had for many years past called to his councils. In the ports of Phœnicia we were shown citadels newly built, a number of ships of war on the stocks, and timber and rigging which had been brought from various places. For these advantages, the empire is indebted to the vigilance of Arsames. Some industrious citizens said to us: Our commerce was threat-

* Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 828.

ened with speedy ruin, but the wise measures of Arsames have re-established it. We were informed, at the same time, that the important island of Cyprus, after having long experienced the evils of anarchy,* had submitted to the king of Persia; and that this also was to be ascribed to the wise politics of Arsames. In the interior parts of the empire, some aged officers said to us, with tears in their eyes: We have served the king faithfully, but, in the distribution of his favours, we were forgotten. We addressed ourselves to Arsames, though he was unknown to us; and he has procured us a comfortable old age, without speaking of his benefactions to any person. An individual added, Arsames, prejudiced against me by my enemies, believed it his duty to lay on me the rigorous hand of authority; but soon after, being convinced that I was innocent, he sent for me, and I found him much more afflicted at what had passed than I was myself. He entreated me to assist him to make reparation for an act of injustice which rent his heart, and made me promise to have recourse to him whenever I should have need of protection; nor have I ever solicited him in vain.

His secret influence every where inspires all minds with activity. Military men felicitate themselves on the emulation which he maintains

* Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 440.

among them, and the people on the peace which he has negotiated for them, notwithstanding almost insurmountable obstacles. In fine, the nation has, by his prudence, been again raised to that high rank of respectability among foreign powers which it had lost by unfortunate wars.

Arsames is no longer in the ministry; he passes a peaceful life at his country seat, about forty parasangs distant from Susa. His friends still remain attached to him: those whose merit he has called into action remember his benefactions or his promises; and all frequent his palace with more assiduity than if he were still in place.

Chance has conducted us to his charming retreat, and his kindness retained us there during several months; nor do I know when we shall be able to leave a society which Athens could only equal at the time when politeness, propriety, and good taste, reigned most unrivalled in that city.

This society constitutes the happiness of Arsames, and he is its delight and ornament. His conversation is animated, easy, and interesting; frequently enlivened with sallies which escape him with surprising facility and rapidity, and ever embellished by the Graces, and a gaiety which, like his happiness, is communicated to all about him. His discourse is entirely free from all claims of superiority or unsuitable and affected expressions; in the midst of the greatest

ease and negligence, he observes the most perfect politeness, and his style is that of a man who possesses, in the most eminent degree, the gift of pleasing, and the most exquisite discernment of propriety.

This happy union, when he finds it, or imagines that he has found it, in others, particularly impresses him in their favour. He listens with an obliging attention ; he applauds with transport a sally of wit, provided it be rapid ; a novel thought, if it be just ; and a great sentiment, if it be not exaggerated.

In the intercourse of friendship, his agreeable qualities, still more displayed, seem every instant to show themselves for the first time. He exhibits in his less intimate connexions a facility of manners of which Aristotle had conceived the model. We often meet with minds so feeble, said he to me one day, that they approve every thing, that they may offend no person ; and others who approve nothing, at the risk of displeasing every one.^b There is a medium between these two kinds of behaviour, for which our language has no name, because very few people are able to attain to it. It is a natural disposition, which, without having the reality, possesses the appearances, and in some degree the charms, of friendship. He who is endowed with it, equally avoids to flatter or offend the

^b Aristot. de Mor. lib. 4. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 54.

self-love of any person. He pardons weaknesses, endures defects, is not eager to hold up every absurdity to ridicule, or forward to give advice, and knows how so properly to proportion the attention and regard which he testifies for others, that all with whom he converses believe they have obtained from him that degree of affection or esteem of which they are desirous.

Such is the charm which attracts and secures the hearts of all who approach Arsames. It is a species of general benevolence, the more inviting with him, as it is united, without an effort, to the splendor of glory and the simplicity of modesty. One day an opportunity offered to speak, in his presence, of his great qualities: he hastened to expose his defects. Another time, when the conversation turned on some measures of which he had the direction during his ministry, we wished to speak of the success of his plans, but he himself only spoke of the mistakes he had committed.

His heart, easily moved, is inflamed at the relation of a noble action, and affected in the most lively manner by the sufferings of the unfortunate, whose gratitude he excites without exacting it. In his house, and around his estate, are found numerous instances of the exertion of that generous beneficence which prevents all wishes and satisfies all wants. Already lands

which had been abandoned are covered with harvests, and the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, whose solicitations are anticipated by his benefits, pay him a tribute by which he is much more affected than by their respect.

My dear Apollodorus, it is the province of history to celebrate, in the distinguished manner which he merits, a minister who, in possession of unlimited favour from his sovereign, and retaining no kind of flatterers in his pay, has laboured singly for the glory and happiness of his nation. I have communicated to you the first impressions which he made on us, and shall perhaps hereafter transmit to you other particulars of his character. You will no doubt pardon me this: travellers ought not to neglect such instructive details; for certainly the description of a great man is well worth that of a sumptuous edifice.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

YOU know that in the neighbourhood of the dominions of Philip, in Maritime Thrace, a country called Chalcidice extends along the sea-shore, where formerly settled several Greek colonies, of which the principal is Olynthus; a strong, opulent, and very populous city, which, situated in part on an eminence, attracts from far

the eye of the traveller, by the extent of its walls and the beauty of its edifices.^d

Its inhabitants have more than once exhibited the most signal proofs of courage. When Philip ascended the throne, they were on the point of concluding an alliance with us; but he contrived to prevent this by seducing us by his promises, and them by his favours.^e He increased their territories by ceding to them Anthemus and Potidæa, of which he had made himself master.^f Moved by this generôcity, they had suffered him, during several years, to increase his power without opposition: and if by accident they have taken any umbrage at it, he has immediately dispatched ambassadors to them, who, supported by the numerous partisans which he takes care to keep in pay in that city, have easily quieted these transient alarms.^g

Their eyes have at length been opened, and they have resolved to enter into an alliance with us.^h They have, besides, for a long time refused to deliver up to the king two of his brothers by another mother, who had fled to them for refuge, and who might assert claims to the throne of Macedon.ⁱ He now employs these pretexts to complete the design which he has

^d Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 63. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 412.

^e Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

^f Id. Philip. 2. p. 66. Philip. 4. p. 104.

^g Id. Philip. 3. p. 87 et 93.

^h Id. Olynth. 3. p. 36, &c.

ⁱ Justin. lib. 6. cap. 3. Oros. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 172.

long conceived, of adding Chalcidice to his dominions. He has obtained possession, without difficulty, of some cities of the country, and the rest will soon fall into his hands.ⁱⁱ Olynthus is threatened with a siege, and has sent deputies to solicit our assistance. Demosthenes has spoken in their behalf,^k and the assembly has adopted his opinion, in despite of the opposition of Demades, an eloquent orator, but suspected of maintaining a correspondence with Philip.^l

Chares had set sail with thirty galleys and two thousand light-armed troops.^m On the coast near to Olynthus, he met with a small body of mercenaries in the service of the king of Macedon; and, contented with having put them to flight, and taken their leader, surnamed *the cock*, returned to enjoy his triumph at home. The Olynthians have not been succoured; but after some sacrifices, by way of thanksgiving, our general has given an entertainment to the people in the forum,ⁿ who, in the intoxication of their joy, have decreed him a crown of gold.

The Olynthians, in the mean time, having sent to us other deputies, we have dispatched

ⁱⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.

^k Demosth. Olynth. Plut. X. Rhetor. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.

^l Suid. in Δημαδ.

^m Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. de Demosth. et Arist. cap. 9. t. vi. p. 734.

ⁿ Theoph. et Duris, ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.

to their assistance eighteen galleys, four thousand foreign light-armed soldiers, and a hundred and fifty horses,^o under the command of Charidemus, who excels Chares only in villany. After having ravaged the neighbouring country, he has entered the city, where he every day signalises himself by his intemperance and debauchery.^p

Though many people here maintain that this war is foreign to us,^q I am persuaded that nothing can be of more importance to Athens than the preservation of Olynthus. Should Philip obtain possession of that city, what can prevent him from immediately invading Attica? We have only between him and us the Thesalians who are his allies, the Thebans who are our enemies, and the Phocians who are too weak even to defend themselves.^r

LETTER OF NICETAS.

I EXPECTED that Philip would take some imprudent step. After having long been careful to remain on good terms with the Olynthians, whom he feared,^s he has suddenly ad-

^o Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Amm. de Demosth. et Arist. cap. 9. t. vi. p. 734.

^p Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436.

^q Ulpian. in Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 6.

^r Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 4.

^s Id. Olynth. 3. p. 36.

vanced within forty stadia* of their city; and when they sent deputies to him to demand what were his intentions, his answer was: "You must either quit your city, or I my kingdom."† He has then forgotten, that not long since the Olynthians compelled his father Amyntas to cede to them a part of his territories, and that they afterwards made an obstinate resistance to his arms, when reinforced by those of the Lacedæmonians, whose assistance he had implored."

It is said that immediately on his arrival he has defeated them. But how will he be able to force those walls which art has fortified, and which are defended by a whole army? This consists, first, of ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, raised in Chalcidice; and next, of a number of brave warriors whom the besieged have received from their ancient allies:‡ add to these the troops of Charidemus, and the new reinforcement of two thousand heavy-armed infantry and three hundred cavalry, all Athenians, which we have just sent off."

Philip would have never engaged in this enterprise had he foreseen its consequences. He

* About a league and a half.

† Demosth. Philip. 3. p. 87.

‡ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 559. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 341.

§ Demost. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.

¶ Philoch. ap. Dionys. Halic. ap. Amm. de Demosth.

had imagined that he should carry all before him at the first onset. He is likewise preyed on by another secret disquietude. The Thessalians, his allies, will soon be among the number of his enemies. He had taken from them the city of Pagasæ; they demanded it to be restored: he intended to fortify Magnesia; they oppose his design: he received certain duties in their ports and markets; they propose to reserve them to themselves; and if he is deprived of them, how will he pay that numerous army of mercenaries which constitutes his whole strength? It is presumed, on the other hand, that the Illyrians and Pæonians, little accustomed to servitude, will soon shake off the yoke of a prince whose victories have rendered him insolent.*

What would we not have given to have engaged the Olynthians against him? The event has exceeded our most sanguine hopes. You will doubtless soon learn that the power and glory of Philip have been dashed to atoms against the ramparts of Olynthus.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

PHILIP maintained a correspondence in Eubœa, secretly conveyed troops thither, and already had gained possession of the greater part

* Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 4.

of its cities. Master of that island, he would soon have been so of all Greece. At the request of Plutarchus of Eretria, we sent off Phocion, with a small number of troops, cavalry and infantry.^y We relied on the partisans of liberty, and the foreigners whom Plutarchus had in his pay. But corruption had made so great a progress, that the whole island rose against us, Phocion was in the most imminent danger, and we were obliged to make the remainder of the cavalry march to his assistance.^z

Phocion occupied an eminence which was separated by a deep ditch from the Plain of Tamyna.^a The enemy, who had for some time held him besieged, resolved at length to drive him from his post. He saw them advance, and still continued quiet; but Plutarchus, in contempt of his orders, quitted his entrenchments at the head of the foreign troops, was followed by our cavalry, and both attacking in disorder, were put to flight. The whole camp shuddered with indignation; but Phocion restrained the courage of his soldiers, under pretence that the auspices were not favourable. The moment however that he saw the enemy break down the ramparts of the camp, he gave the signal for the attack, briskly repulsed

^y Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.

^a Demosth. in Mid. p. 600.

them, and pursued them into the plain: the action was bloody, and the victory complete. The orator *Æschines* brought us the news of this battle, in which he had distinguished himself.^b

Phocion has driven from Eretria Plutarchus who tyrannised over it, and from Eubœa all the petty despots who had sold themselves to Philip. He has placed a garrison in the fort of Zaretra, to secure the independence of the island; and, after a campaign which all those who are acquainted with military affairs highly admire, has returned again to mix undistinguished with the other citizens of Athens.

The two following anecdotes will prove his wisdom and humanity. Before the battle, he forbade his officers to prevent desertion, which he said would clear the army of a multitude of cowardly and mutinous soldiers. After his victory he ordered that all the Greek prisoners should be set at liberty, lest the people should take revenge on them by some act of cruelty.^c

In one of our late conversations, Theodorus entertained us with a discourse on the nature and motion of the celestial bodies. The only compliment, however, which Diogenes paid him, was by asking him whether it was long since he came down from heaven.^d Panthion

^b *Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.*

^c *Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 747.*

afterward read to us a work of excessive length. Diogenes, who sat near him, from time to time cast his eyes on the manuscript, and perceiving that he approached the end, suddenly exclaimed: "Land, land, my friends! have patience but a moment longer."^e

Soon after, some person asked by what signs a traveller may know, immediately on his arrival in any city, that education is neglected there, Plato answered: "If he finds that physicians and judges are necessary."^f

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEOPHILUS.

The 1st year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 18th of July of the year 348, to the 8th of July of the year 347, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APÓLLODORUS.

A FEW days since, walking without the Thracian gate, we saw a man on horseback arrive, riding full speed. We stopped him, and inquired whence he came, and whether he knew any thing concerning the siege of Olynthus. I have been to Potidæa, answered he, and on my return I no longer saw Olynthus.^g At these

^e Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 38. Etymol. in *Tayai*.

^f Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 405.

^g Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 335.

words he left us, and in a moment was out of sight. We returned into the city, and found it in universal consternation at the calamitous fate which has befallen Olynthus.

That city is no more: its riches, its forces, its allies, and the fourteen thousand men which we sent to its aid, at different times, all have not been able to save it.^b Philip, repulsed on every assault, daily lost numbers of his men;ⁱ but traitors which it contained within its walls every day hastened the moment of its ruin. The king of Macedon had purchased by bribes both its magistrates and its generals. The principal of these, Euthykrates and Lasthenes, delivered into his hands at one time five hundred horsemen whom they commanded;ⁱⁱ and after other acts of treachery, not less fatal, gave him entrance into the city, which was immediately given up to pillage. Houses, porticos, temples, every thing has been destroyed by fire and sword, and soon will it scarcely be known where Olynthus formerly stood.^k Philip has caused the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, and put to death two of his brothers, who had for several years made that their asylum.^l

All Greece is alarmed, and fears for its power

^b Demost. de Fals. Leg. p. 335. Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Amm. t. vi. p. 736.

ⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.

ⁱⁱ Demosth. *ibid.*

^k Id. Phil. 3. p. 89. Strab. lib. 2. p. 121. Diod. *ibid.*

^l Oros. lib. 3. cap. 12. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 3.

and liberty.^m Every place is surrounded by spies and enemies, and how may it be possible to guard against the universal venality? How shall we defend ourselves against a prince who has often said, and who has proved his words by facts, that there are no walls which a beast of burden, laden with gold, will not easily make his way over?ⁿ Other nations have applauded the thundering decrees which we have enacted against those who have betrayed the Olynthians.^o We must likewise do justice to the conquerors, who, indignant at this act of perfidy, openly upbraided the principal persons concerned in it with their guilt, and called them traitors to their country. Euthycrates and Lasthenes complained of their behaviour to Philip, who sarcastically replied: "The Macedonian soldiers are very rude and unpolished, they will call a spade a spade."^p *

While the Olynthians, laden with chains, watered with their tears the ashes of their country, or were driven in crowds along the public roads at the pleasure of their new masters,^q Philip dared to offer up thanks to heaven for the evils of

^m Agath. ap. Phoc. p. 1334.

ⁿ Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178. Cicer. ad Attic. lib. i. Epist. 16. t. viii. p. 75.

^o Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.

^p Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

* These are the exact words of Plutarch, though the proverbial expression is not retained in the French.

^q Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 341.

which he had been the author, and celebrated superb games in honour of the Olynthian Jupiter. He had invited to their entertainment, which concluded this odious festival, the most celebrated artists and the most distinguished actors. There, in the intoxication of victory and pleasure, the king anticipated or satisfied the wishes of all present, and lavished on them his favours or his promises. Satyrus, the excellent comic actor, kept a mournful silence; which the king perceiving, reproached him with his melancholy: "Is it," said he, "because you doubt of my generosity or my esteem? Have you no favour to solicit?" "I could ask one," replied Satyrus, "which depends entirely on you; but I fear a refusal." "Speak," said Philip, "and be certain you shall obtain whatever you request."

"The closest connexions of hospitality and friendship," replied the actor, "subsisted between myself and Apollophanes of Pydna. He was put to death on a false accusation, and left only two daughters, yet very young. Their relations sent them to Olynthus, as a place of security; they are now in chains, their fate depends on you, and I venture to solicit their liberty. I have no other interest in this than the preservation of their honour. My intention is

to give them marriage portions, to choose them husbands, and to prevent their doing any thing unworthy of their father and of his friend." The whole banqueting-hall resounded with the applauses which Satyrus merited ; and Philip, more affected than any other person, immediately commanded the two young captives to be set at liberty, and delivered to Satyrus. This act of clemency is the more noble, as Apollonides was accused of having been one of the conspirators who deprived Alexander, the brother of Philip, of his life and crown.

I have not mentioned the war of the Phocians; it still continues, without any remarkable incidents having taken place: Heaven grant it may not terminate like that of the Olynthians!

LETTER OF NICETAS.

MY expectations have, I own, been totally disappointed by the calamitous termination of the siege of Olynthus ; because it was impossible I should foresee the deplorable blindness of the people of that city. Their ruin is solely to be attributed to their not having exterminated the party of Philip in its birth. They had at the head of their cavalry Apollonides, an able general, and an excellent citizen, whom they

suddenly banished,* because the partisans of Philip had contrived to render him suspected. Lasthenes and his associate Euthycrates, whom they appointed in his place, had received from Macedon timber, herds of oxen, and other riches, which they were in no condition to acquire. Their connexion with Philip was glaring, yet the Olynthians could not perceive it. During the siege, their leaders manifestly acted in concert with the king, yet the Olynthians still placed full confidence in them. It was universally known that Philip had subjected the cities of Chalcidice more by bribes than the force of arms, yet this example was lost on the Olynthians.†

The fate of Euthycrates and Lasthenes, it is to be hoped, will in future terrify those who might be base enough to be guilty of similar treachery. These two wretches have perished miserably.‡ Philip, who despises though he employs traitors, has thought proper to deliver them up to the outrages of the soldiers, who have at last torn them in pieces.

The taking of Olynthus, instead of destroying our hopes, has served only to raise them. Our orators have kindled all the ardour of the love of liberty in the minds of the people. We

* Demost. Phil. 3. p. 93 et 94.

† Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 335.

‡ Id. de Cherson. p. 80.

have sent off a great number of ambassadors,^x every where to endeavour to excite enemies against Philip, and to procure a general assembly of the Grecian states to deliberate on the war. It is to be held here. Æschines is gone to the Arcadians, who have promised to accede to their league. The other states are beginning to be in motion, and all Greece will soon be under arms.

The republic is no longer solicitous to preserve appearances. Besides the decrees which we have passed against those whose treachery has been the occasion of the destruction of Olynthus, we have publicly received such of the inhabitants as have been able to make their escape from its flames, and from slavery.^y By these vigorous measures, Philip will perceive that the dispute between him and us can no longer be carried on by furtive attacks, remonstrances, negotiations, and projects of peace.

^x Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 295. Æschin. ibid. p. 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 437. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 450.

^y Senec. in Excerpt. Controv. t. iii. p. 516.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

The 15th of Thargelion.*

YOU will share in our grief: an unexpected death has deprived us of Plato, who died on the 7th of this month,† on his birth-day.^a He had not been able to avoid going to a marriage-entertainment to which he was invited.^a I sat next him. He only ate, as was frequently his custom, a few olives.^b Never was he more agreeable, or in greater apparent health; but at the very moment I was congratulating him on this, he was taken ill, and sunk into my arms in a state of insensibility. All the assistance we could afford him was ineffectual. We caused him to be carried home, where we saw on his table the last lines he had written but a short time before,^c and the corrections which he had made at intervals in his treatise on the republic.^d These were watered with our tears.

* The 25th of May of the year 347 before Christ.

† The 17th of May of the year 347 before Christ. I do not give this date as certain: it is well known that chronologists are divided concerning the year and day on which Plato died; but it appears that the difference can only be a few months. (See Dodwell de Cycl. Dissert. 10. p. 609; as also a dissertation by father Corsini, inserted in a collection of pieces, entitled, *Symbolæ Literariæ*, t. vi. p. 80.)

^a Diog. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 2. Senec. Ep. 58.

^a Hermip. ap. Diog. Laërt. ibid.

^b Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 25.

^c Cicer. de Senect. cap. 5. t. iii. p. 298.

^d Dionys. Halic. de Comp. Verb. cap. 25. p. 209. Quintil. Inst. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 500. Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 37.

The regret of the public, and the sincerest sorrow of his friends, have accompanied him to the tomb. He was buried near the academy.^e He had exactly completed his eighty-first year.^f

His will contains the state of his effects,^g which is as follows: two country-houses; three minæ in ready money; * four slaves; two silver vessels, the one weighing 165 drachmas, and the other 45; a gold ring and an ear-ring of the same metal, which he wore when a child.^h He declares that he left no debt.ⁱ He bequeaths one of his country-houses to the son of Adimanthus his brother; and gives liberty to Diana, whose zeal and services merited this proof of his gratitude. He has regulated every thing concerning his funeral and his tomb.^k Speusippus, his nephew, is appointed one of his executors, and is to succeed him at the academy.

Among his papers have been found letters on philosophical subjects. He had more than once told us that, when in Sicily, he had some slight

^e Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 76.

^f Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 2. Cicer. *ibid.* Senec. Ep. 58. t. ii. p. 207. Censor. de Die Nat. cap. 14 et 15. Lucian. in Macrob. t. iii. p. 223. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7, &c.

^g Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 41.

* 270 livres (11*l.* 5*s.*)

^h Sext. Empir. adv. Gramm. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 271.

ⁱ Diog. Laërt. lib. 3. § 41.

^k Dioscor. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 15. p. 407.

conversations with the younger Dionysius, king of Syracuse, on the nature of the first principle and the origin of evil; and that Dionysius, joining with these imperfect notions his own ideas, and those of some other philosophers, had published them in a work which only displays his ignorance.¹

Some time after the return of Plato, the king sent to him the philosopher Archidemus, requesting him to dispel the doubts by which he was disturbed. Plato, in his answer, which I have just read, dares not explain himself openly on the first principle,² being fearful that his letter might miscarry. What he adds has greatly astonished me: I shall here give you the substance of it.

“You ask me, son of Dionysius, what is the cause of the evils which afflict the universe. One day, in your garden, beneath the shade of some laurel trees,³ you told me that you had discovered it. I answered you, that I had been employed all my life in the investigation of this question, and that I had not yet found any person who was able to resolve it. I suspect that, struck with a first ray of light, you have given up yourself to the prosecution of these researches with new ardour, but that, having no fixed principles, you have suffered your reason,

¹ Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 341.

² Id. Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 312.

³ Id. ibid. p. 313.

without curb or guide, to pursue false appearances. You are not the only one to whom this has happened. All those to whom I have communicated my doctrines have at first been more or less disquieted by similar doubts. I now send you what may assist you to dissipate yours. Archidemus brings you my first answer; you will meditate on it at your leisure, and compare it with those of other philosophers. If new difficulties should occur, Archidemus will return, and, by the time he has made two or three voyages, you will find your doubts disappear.

“ But beware not to speak publicly on these subjects, for what some admire with enthusiasm is to others an object of contempt and ridicule. My opinions, subjected to a long and careful examination, come forth like gold purified in the crucible. I have known ingenuous minds, who, after thirty years’ meditation, have at length confessed that they had obtained evidence and certitude, where, during so long a time, they had only found uncertainty and obscurity. But I have already told you so exalted a subject ought only to be treated in private conversation. I never have delivered, nor ever will publish in writing, my real sentiments. I have only given to the world those of Socrates. Adieu! follow my advice, and burn this letter, after having read it several times.”

What! the writings of Plato do not contain

his real sentiments on the origin of evil! And has he made it a duty to conceal them from the public, when he has so eloquently explained the system of Timæus of Locris? You know well that in that work Socrates does not teach, but only listens. — What then is that mysterious doctrine of which Plato speaks? To which of his disciples has he confided it? Has he ever spoken of it to you? I am lost in a multiplicity of conjectures.

The death of Plato has been the occasion of our suffering another loss, which I feel most sensibly. Aristotle leaves us, on account of some disgust, which I will explain to you at your return. He is gone to reside under the patronage of the eunuch Hermias, whom the king of Persia has appointed governor of the city of Atarneus in Mysia.^o I regret his friendship, his knowledge, and his conversation. He has promised me to return; but how great is the difference between enjoyment and expectation! Alas! he was himself used to say, after Pindar, that hope is only the dream of a waking man.^p I once applauded his definition, but I now wish to find it false.

I am sorry that I have not more carefully collected and treasured in my memory his repartees.

^o Diog. Laërt. in Aristot. lib. 5. § 9. Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Amm. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

^p Diog. ibid. § 18. Stob. Serm. 10. p. 581.

Discoursing once concerning friendship, he on a sudden pleasantly exclaimed: "Oh, my friends! friends are not to be found."^m Some one asking him what was the use of philosophy, he replied: "To teach us to do voluntarily what the fear of the laws would compel us to do."ⁿ Whence is it, said somebody to him yesterday at my house, that we so unwillingly leave the company of handsome persons? "That," said he, "is the question of a blind man."^o But you have frequently conversed with him; and know, that, though he possessed more extensive knowledge than any other person in the world, yet his knowledge was perhaps still excelled by his wit.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF THEMISTOCLES.

The 2d year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 8th of July of the year 347, to the 27th of June of the year 346, before Christ.)

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

PHILIP, informed of the mirth and pleasantry that reigns in our society,* has just re-

^m Phavor. ap. Diog. Laërt. in Aristot. lib. 5. § 21.

ⁿ Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 20.

^o Id. ibid.

* This was composed of persons of wit and taste, to the number of sixty, who met, from time to time, to pass humorous decrees on whatever they considered as objects of ridicule. I have spoken of them before. (See Vol. II. Chap. XX.

mitted us a talent,* and invites us to communicate to him the result of each meeting.^p We shall not neglect to comply with his request. I have proposed to send to him the portraits of some of our ministers and generals, for which I immediately furnished a number of sketches. I will endeavour to recollect them.

Demades^q had for some time distinguished himself as a common sailor on board our galleys,^r where he managed the oar with the same strength and dexterity as he now does his arguments and rhetorical figures. He has derived from his former condition of life the honour of having enriched our language with a proverb. *From the oar to the rostrum*, at present signifies the progress of one who has arrived at an unexpected preferment.^s

He possesses much wit, and especially the style of fashionable pleasantry,^t though he lives with the lowest class of courtesans.^u A great number of sallies of wit are attributed to him.^x † Whatever he says seems to come by inspiration; the idea and the expression present themselves at the same instant. He therefore never takes

* 5400 livres (225*l.*) ^p Athen. lib. 14. cap. 1. p. 614.

^q Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. iv. p. 418.

^r Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 123. Suid. in *Δημαδ.* Sext. Emp. adv. Gramm. lib. 2. p. 291.

^s Erasm. Adag. Chil. 3. cent. 4. p. 670.

^t Cicer. Orat. cap. 26. t. i. p. 441.

^u Pyth. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 44. ^x Demetr. Phal. de Eloc.

the trouble to write his discourses,^y and rarely that of previously thinking on the subject on which he is to speak. Does any unforeseen affair come before the general assembly, on which Demosthenes dares not open his mouth, Demades is called on, and he then speaks with so much eloquence, that we cannot hesitate to rank him above all our orators.^z He is equally superior to them in other things. He may defy all the people of Athens to get intoxicated so often as himself,^a and all the kings of the earth to satisfy his avarice with their treasures.^b As he is very expert in commerce, he will sell himself, even for a number of years, to any one that is willing to purchase him.^c He said to some person, that when he should give a marriage portion to his daughter, it should be at the expense of foreign powers.^d

Philocrates is less eloquent, equally voluptuous,^e and much more intemperate. At table, every thing disappears before him, and he there appears to multiply himself, which has occasioned the poet Eubulus to say, in one of his dramatic pieces: "We have two insatiable

^y Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 9. t. i. p. 343. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 17. p. 129.

^z Theop. ap. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 850.

^a Athen. lib. 2. p. 44.

^b Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 755. Id. in Apophth. t. ii. p. 188.

^c Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 103.

^d Plut. ibid.

^e Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 329 et 342. Æschin. ibid. p. 403.

guests, Philocrates and Philocrates."^f He is also one of those men on whose forehead we seem to read, as on the door of a house, these words, written in large characters, *To let: to sell.*^g

It is not the same with Demosthenes, who has always displayed an ardent zeal for the good of his country. He is in want of those external accomplishments which might enable him to supplant his rivals and gain the confidence of the people. He will perhaps betray us when he can no longer prevent our being betrayed by others.^h

His education had been neglected; and he was unacquainted with those arts which might correct his numerous defects.ⁱ I wish I were able to depict him to you, such as he appeared the first time he ascended the rostrum. Figure to yourself a man with an austere and discontented air, scratching his head, shrugging his shoulders, with a shrill and feeble voice,^k a difficult respiration, tones that grated on the ear, a barbarous pronunciation, and a style still more barbarous, composed of endless, inexhaustible, unintelligible periods, crowded besides with all the arguments of the schools.^l He fatigued and disgusted us, and, in return, we hissed and

^f Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 8.

^g Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 310. Id. de Coron. p. 476.

^h Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 90. Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 857. Id. in X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 846.

ⁱ Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 847.

^k Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 420.

^l Plut. ibid. p. 848.

hooted him. He was for some time obliged to retire, but he profited by his disgrace like a man of superior genius. By incredible efforts^m he corrected some of his defects, and every day now adds a new ray to his glory, which has been laboriously acquired. He must long meditate on his subject, and turn it in his mind in every possible manner, to render his imagination prolific.ⁿ

His enemies pretend that his works smell of the lamp.^o Persons of taste think there is something mean in his action,^p and censure him for employing harsh expressions and absurd metaphors.^q For my part, I find him as frigid when he attempts to be pleasant^r as he is ridiculously attentive to his dress. The most delicate lady does not wear finer linen;^s and this niceness forms a singular contrast to the asperity of his character.^t

I would not vouch for his probity. In a lawsuit, he once wrote for both parties.^u I mentioned this fact to one of his friends, a man of much wit, who replied, laughing; He was then very young.

^m Plut. in Demosth. t. i. p. 849. Id. in X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 844.

ⁿ Id. in Demosth. t. i. p. 849.

^o Id. ibid. Ælian. lib. 7. cap. 7. Lucian. in Demosth. Encom. cap. 15. t. iii. p. 502.

^p Plut. ibid. p. 851.

^q Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 480. Longin. de Sublim. cap. 34.

^r Æschin. in Timarch. p. 279. Longin. ibid. Quintil. Institut. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 643.

^s Æschin. ibid. p. 280.

^t Plut. ibid. p. 847 et 886.

^u Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 421.

Plut. ibid. p. 852 et 887.

His manners, though not of the purest kind, are not indecent. It is said, indeed, that he visits courtesans, that he sometimes dresses himself like them,^{*} and that in his youth a single assignation cost him as much as all his pleadings had brought him during a whole year.[†] All this, however, is of little importance. It is added, that he once sold his wife to a young man named Cnosion,[‡] which is a more serious accusation. But these are domestic affairs, in which I do not wish to intermeddle.

During the last festivals of Bacchus,[§] in quality of choragus of his tribe, he was at the head of a company of young persons who disputed the prize in dancing. In the midst of the ceremony, Midias, a rich and ridiculous man, gave him a blow on the face, in the presence of a great number of spectators. Demosthenes carried his complaint before a court of justice, and the affair was terminated to the satisfaction of both parties: Midias has given money, and Demosthenes received it. We know now that it only costs three thousand drachmas* to insult the cheek of a choragus.^b

A short time after he accused one of his cousins of having dangerously wounded him,

* Plut. X Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 847.

† Athen. lib. 13. cap. 7. p. 593.

‡ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 419.

§ Demosth. in Mid. p. 603.

* 2700 livres (112*l.* 10*s.*)

^b Æschin. in Ctes. p. 436,

Plut. in X Rhet. Vit. t. ii.

and showed a cut on his head which he was suspected of having made himself.* As he required damages and interest, it was said that the head of Demosthenes was extremely productive.^d

We may laugh at his self-love, but it is too undisguised to give offence. I was with him the other day in the street, when one of the women who carry water happening to see him, pointed at him with her finger to show him to another woman: "Look," said she, "there is Demosthenes!"^e I pretended not to hear her; but he took care to make me remark her.

Æschines has been accustomed from his youth to speak in public. His mother early introduced him into public life, by taking him with her from house to house to initiate people of the lowest class into the mysteries of Bacchus. He appeared in the street at the head of a chorus of Bacchantes, crowned with fennel and branches of poplar, and performed with them, but with infinite grace, all the extravagant rites of their singular worship. He sang, danced, and shouted, grasping in his hand serpents which he shook over his head. The populace heaped on him their benedictions, and the old women gave him little cakes.^f

* Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 435. Suid. in *Δημοσθ.*

^d Herald. Animad. in Salmas. Observ. cap. 10. p. 136.

^e Cicer. Quæst. Tuscul. lib. 5. cap. 36. t. ii. p. 391. Plin. lib. 9. epist. 23. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 17.

^f Demosth. de Coron. p. 516.

This success fired his ambition. He entered into a company of comedians, but was found only capable of the inferior parts. Notwithstanding the sonorousness of his voice, the public declared against him an eternal war:^a he therefore quitted this profession, and became clerk in an inferior court, and afterwards minister of state.

His conduct has since been always regular and decent. He possesses wit, taste, politeness, and the knowledge of propriety. His eloquence is distinguished by a happy choice of words, the abundance and clearness of his ideas, and a prodigious facility, for which he is indebted less to art than nature. His style does not want strength, though it has less than that of Demosthenes. He at first dazzles, and afterwards compels assent;^b at least this is what I am told by persons who understand these things. He has the weakness to be ashamed of his former condition in life, and the imprudence at the same time to remind others of theirs. When he walks in the forum with measured steps, a flowing robe, his head erect, and his cheeks swelled out,^c whispers are heard on every side: Is not that the petty clerk of a petty court of justice, the son of Tromes the schoolmaster, and Glaucothea, who was before called Em-

^a Demosth. de Coron. p. 516. et de Fals. Leg. p. 346.

^b Dionys. Halic. de Veter. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 434.

^c Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 343.

pusa? ** Was it not he who used to scour the forms of the school when we were school-boys; and who, during the Bacchanalia,¹ shouted, with all his might in the streets, EVOE, SABOE? †

The jealousy which exists between him and Demosthenes is very apparent. They cannot but have perceived it at the first; for those who have the same claims discover each other in an instant. I know not whether Æschines will suffer himself to be corrupted; but those who are so very polished and amiable are generally feeble. I ought to add, however, that he is a very brave man, who has distinguished himself in several battles, and that Phocion has borne testimony to his valour.²

Perhaps there is not a more singular character than the man I have last mentioned; I mean Phocion. He seems not to know that he lives in the present age, and in the city of Athens. He is poor, yet is not humiliated by his poverty; he does good, yet never boasts of it; and gives his advice, though he is very certain that it will never be followed. He possesses talents without ambition, and serves the state without views of interest.—At the head of the army, he contents himself with restoring discipline and beating the enemy. When addressing the assembly,

* That is, *the Hag*, or *Spectre*.

¹ Demosth. de Coron. p. 494.

² Id. ibid. p. 516.

† Barbarous words used to invoke Bacchus.

² Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 422.

he is equally unmoved by the disapprobation or applause of the multitude. In one of his harangues, he was proposing a plan for the conduct of the approaching campaign, when on a sudden some person interrupted him with the most abusive language.* Phocion was silent till the other had ended, and then coolly thus resumed his discourse: "I have spoken to you of the infantry and cavalry; it now remains for me to speak," &c. &c. On another occasion, he was loudly applauded by the people. I happened by chance to be next him: he turned round to me and said, "Did you observe that I committed any egregious blunder?"•

We laugh at his singularity and his pleasantries, but we have found an admirable secret to revenge ourselves for his contempt. He is the only general we have left, and we scarcely ever employ him. He is the most upright, and perhaps the most intelligent of our orators, and we listen to him still less. It is true that we cannot make him alter his principles; but, by Heaven! neither shall he induce us to change ours: and surely it shall never be said that with his superannuated* virtues, and the rhapsodies of his antique manners, Phocion shall have been able to correct the most polished and amiable people in the world.

* Plut. Reip. Gerend. Præcept. t. i. p. 810.

• Id. in Phoc. t. i. p. 745.

There is Chares, on the other hand, who by his example teaches our youth to make an open profession of corruption.^p He is the greatest knave and the most unskilful of all our generals, yet he enjoys the greatest reputation.^q He has sheltered himself under the protection of Demosthenes, and some other orators, and gives entertainments to the people. Is a fleet to be fitted out, Chares must have the command and entire disposal of it. He is directed to sail to one coast, and he sails to another. Instead of defending our possessions, he joins with pirates, and in concert with them lays the islands under contribution, and seizes every vessel he meets in his way. Within a few years, he has occasioned the loss of more than a hundred ships, and has dissipated fifteen hundred talents,* in expeditions of no utility to the state, but very lucrative to himself and his principal officers. Sometimes he does not deign to send us any account where he is, or what he is doing; but we obtain information in despite of him; and it is not long since we sent out a swift-sailing vessel, with orders to cruise the seas, and endeavour to discover what was become of the fleet and the general.

^p Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. ii. p. 544.

^q Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 8. p. 532.

* 8,100,000 livres (337,500*l.*)

^r Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p.^o 406. Demosth. in Olynth. 3.

LETTER OF NICETAS.

THE Phocians, exhausted by a war which has lasted almost ten years, have implored our assistance. They consent to give up Thronium, Nicæa, and Alpenus, strong towns situate at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ. Proxenus, who commands our fleet on the neighbouring coasts, has advanced to take possession of them. He will place garrisons in them, and Philip must henceforth despair of forcing the defile.

We have resolved at the same time to fit out another fleet of fifty ships. The flower of our youth are ready to march; we have enrolled all those who have not passed the thirtieth year, and we learn that Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, has offered to the Phocians the whole force of that republic. War is inevitable, and the destruction of Philip no less so.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

OUR most accomplished Athenian ladies are jealous of the praises you bestow on the wife and the sister of Arsames, and our ablest politicians agree that we have need of a statesman

of equal genius with the Persian minister to oppose the abilities of Philip. Every place here lately resounded with the din of arms, but a word from that prince has made them drop from our hands.

During the siege of Olynthus, he had, it is said, more than once signified a wish to continue on good terms with us.¹ On this news, which the people received with transport, it was resolved to open a negotiation, which was suspended by various obstacles. He took Olynthus, and we breathed only war and vengeance; but soon after two of our actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whom the king treats with much kindness, assured us, on their return, that he continued in his former dispositions,² and immediately we thought of nothing but peace.

We have just sent to Macedon ten deputies, all men of distinguished abilities: Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Iatrocles, Cimon, and Nausicles, who have for their associates Dercyllus, Phrynon, Philocrates, Æschines, and Demosthenes.³ To these we must add Aglaocreon of Tenedos, who has the care of the interests of our allies. They are to settle with Philip the most important articles of the peace, and engage him to

¹ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 397.

² Argum. Orat. de Fals. Leg. p. 291. Demosth. ibid. p. 295.

³ Æschin. ibid. p. 398. Argum. Orat. ibid. p. 291.

send plenipotentiaries finally to conclude it here.

I am unable to understand our conduct. This prince lets fall a few vague, and perhaps insidious, protestations of friendship to us; and immediately, without listening to men of wisdom and experience, who distrust his intentions, without waiting for the return of the deputies we have sent to the different states of Greece, to engage them to unite against the common enemy, we intermit our preparations, and make advances which he will abuse if he accedes to them, and of which a refusal will be humiliating to us. To obtain his favour, our deputies must have the good fortune to be agreeable to him. The actor Aristodemus had entered into engagements with some cities which had intended to give theatrical exhibitions; and a deputation was therefore sent, in the name of the senate, most earnestly to solicit that Aristodemus might be excused from paying the forfeiture he must incur, because the republic had need of his services in Macedonia. And Demosthenes too, who had in his harangues treated Philip with so much haughtiness and contempt, was the proposer of this decree.*

* *Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 398.*

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

OUR ambassadors have made incredible dispatch;^a they are already returned. They appear to act in concert; but Demosthenes is not satisfied with his colleagues, who, on their side, complain of him. I shall relate to you some anecdotes relative to their expedition, which I learned yesterday at an entertainment, at which the principal of them, Ctesiphon, Æschines, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, were present.

I ought first to tell you, that during their journey they had not a little to endure from the vanity of Demosthenes;^a but they were patient. Insupportable people are sometimes so easily supported in ~~society~~ society! But what gave them^b the greatest disturbance was the genius and abilities of Philip. They felt they were not able to contend with him in politics. Every day they distributed their parts, and disposed their attacks. It was determined that the eldest of them should first mount to the assault, and Demosthenes, as the youngest, bring up the rear. He promised to open the inexhaustible sources of his eloquence: "Fear not Philip," added he: "I will so completely *sew up* his mouth,^b that he shall be forced to restore to us Amphipolis."

^a Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 318.

^b Æschin. *ibid.*

^c *Id.* *ibid.* p. 398.

When they were admitted to an audience of the king, Ctesiphon and the others expressed themselves in a few words;^c Æschines, eloquently and diffusively; Demosthenes—but I will endeavour to give you his picture. He rose half dead with fear. He was not now to ascend the rostrum of Athens, and harangue that multitude of artisans who compose our assemblies. Philip was surrounded by his courtiers, the greater part of whom were men of wit and abilities: among others were Python of Byzantium, who values himself on writing elegantly; and Leosthenes, whom we have banished, and who it is said is one of the greatest orators in Greece.^d All had heard speak of the magnificent promises of Demosthenes, and watched for their fulfilment with an attention which completed his embarrassment. He tremblingly stammered an obscure exordium, lost his recollection, grew more and more confused, and at last was totally unable to proceed. The king in vain endeavoured to inspire him with more confidence: he rose only to fall again; and when Philip had entertained himself for some moments with his silence, the herald gave notice to our deputies to retire.^e

Demosthenes ought to have been the first to laugh at this accident; but, instead of that, he

^c Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 399.

^d Id. ibid. p. 415.

^e Id. ibid. p. 401.

began the attack on Æschines, whom he bitterly reproached for having spoken to the king with too much freedom, and thus brought on the republic a war which it was in no condition to support. — Æschines was about to reply, when they were again introduced into the royal presence. When they were seated, Philip discussed their claims in order, answered their complaints, and especially dwelt on the discourse of Æschines, to whom he frequently addressed himself in particular; then assuming an air of affability and kindness, he testified the most sincere desire to conclude the peace.

During all this time, Demosthenes, with all the inquietude of a courtier threatened with disgrace, had recourse to every expedient to attract the notice of the king; but he could not obtain from him a single word, nor even a look.

He left the conference with a dissatisfaction that produced the most extravagant scenes. He was like a child spoiled by the indulgence of his parents, and unexpectedly mortified by the success of his companions. The storm lasted several days. He at last perceived that ill-humour availed but little, and endeavoured to become more social with the other deputies. They were then on their return home; and, taking them separately, he promised them his protection in the popular assembly. To one he said: I will re-establish your fortune. To another:

I will procure for you the command of the army. With Æschines he employed all his address : he soothed the jealousy, and bestowed unlimited applause on the merit of his rival. His praises must have been very extravagant, since Æschines pretends they were tiresome and disgusting even to himself.

One evening, in I know not what city of Thessaly, he for the first time thought proper to be pleasant on his own adventure. He added, that no person under heaven possessed the powers of eloquence equal to Philip. What most astonished me, replied Æschines, was the amazing exactness with which he recapitulated all that we had said. And I, replied Ctesiphon, though I am advanced in years, never in my life saw a man so polite and agreeable. Demosthenes clapped his hands, and applauded every word. Excellent ! cried he ; but you would not venture to hold the same language in the presence of the people. Why should we not ? replied his companions. He doubted, they insisted ; he required their promise, and they gave it.^f

It is not known what use he intends to make of this ; but we shall see at the first meeting of the assembly. Our whole society intends to be present, for all this cannot well fail to produce some ridiculous scene ; and if Demosthenes has

^f Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 402.

reserved his follies for Macedon, I will never forgive him so long as I live.

What alarms me, is, that he has conducted himself extremely well at the meeting of the senate. The letter of Philip having been remitted to that assembly, Demosthenes has congratulated the republic on having confided its interests to deputies equally deserving such a trust by their eloquence and their probity. He has proposed to decree them a crown of olive, and to invite them the next day to an entertainment in the Prytaneum. The decree of the senate is conformable to these proposals.*

I shall not seal my letter till after the general assembly.

I have this moment left it. Demosthenes has done wonders. The deputies, each in their turn, related the different circumstances of their embassy. Æschines had said a word of the eloquence of Philip, and his happy memory; Ctesiphon, of his beauty and his figure, the embellishments of his mind, and his convivial gaiety. They all received their applauses, when Demosthenes ascended the rostrum in a more serious and significant manner than usual. After having a long time scratched his forehead, for he always begins so: "I cannot but admire," said he, "both those who speak, and those who hear. How is it possible for men to dwell on

* Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 402.

such trifles, when a matter of so great moment awaits their consideration! I shall now likewise proceed to lay before you an account of the embassy. Let the decree passed by this assembly previous to our departure, and the letter which the king of Macedon has returned by us, be read." After the reading of these, he added: "Such were our instructions, and we have fulfilled them. You have heard the answer of Philip: it now only remains for us to deliberate on that answer."^h

These words excited a kind of murmur in the assembly. "What precision, what address!" said some: "What envy, what malignity!" said others. For my part, I laughed heartily at the embarrassment visible in the countenances of Ctesiphon and Æschines. Without, however, giving them time to breathe, he resumed his discourse as follows: "You have heard great encomiums bestowed on the eloquence and memory of Philip; any other person in possession of the same power would obtain the same praises. His other excellent qualities have likewise been extolled; but he has not a finer countenance than the actor Aristodemus, nor can he drink better than Philocrates. Æschines has told you, that he had left to me, at least in part, the discussion of our rights to Amphipolis; but that orator will not leave either to you or

^h Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403.

me an opportunity of speaking. These, however, are trifles unworthy our notice: I shall proceed to propose a decree. The herald of Philip is arrived, and his ambassadors will soon follow. I move that permission may be granted to treat with them, and that the Prytanes be directed to convoke an assembly, which shall be held two days successively, and in which we may deliberate on the peace and the alliance. I am likewise of opinion, that you should pass a vote of approbation and praise of the conduct of your deputies, if they deserve it; and that they should be invited to sup to-morrow in the Prytaneum."¹ This decree has passed almost unanimously, and the orator has re-assumed his superiority.

I have a great opinion of Demosthenes; but it is not sufficient to possess great abilities, we ought not to be ridiculous. There subsists between celebrated men and our society a kind of tacit convention; we give them our esteem, and they ought to indulge us in laughing at their follies.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SEND you the journal of what has passed in our assemblies till the conclusion of the peace.

¹ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403.

*The 8th of Elaphebolion, the day of the festival of Æsculapius.** The Prytanes met, and, conformably to the decree of the people, appointed two general assemblies to deliberate on the peace. They will be held on the 18th and 19th.^k

The 12th of Elaphebolion, the first day of the festivals of Bacchus.† Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, are arrived. They come on the part of Philip to conclude the treaty, and to receive the oath by which it is to be sanctioned.^l

Antipater is, next to Philip, the most able politician in Greece. Active and indefatigable, he extends his vigilance to almost every part of the administration. The king has often said: We may securely sleep, or resign ourselves to our pleasures, for Antipater watches for us.^m

Parmenio, beloved by the sovereign, and still more by the soldiers,ⁿ has already signalised himself by a great number of exploits: he would be the first general in Greece, if Philip did not exist. From the abilities of these two deputies, you may judge of the merit of Eurylochus, their associate.

* The 8th of this month in the year in question corresponded to the 8th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

^k Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403 et 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 438. † The 12th of March of the same year.

^l Argum. Orat. de Fals. Leg. ap. Demosth. p. 291. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 304.

^m Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.

ⁿ Quint. Curt. lib. 4. cap. 13.

*The 15th of Elaphebolion.** The ambassadors regularly attend at the shows exhibited at this festival. Demosthenes has caused the senate to assign them a distinguished place.^o He has taken care that cushions and purple carpets shall be prepared for them. At the break of day, he conducts them himself to the theatre; and has assigned them apartments in his own house. Many people are offended at his paying them such obsequious attention, and consider it as a meanness.^p They say that, having been unable to gain the favour of Philip while in Macedon, he now wishes at least to show that he was deserving of it.

The 18th of Elaphebolion.† The assembly has met; but, before I proceed to the deliberations, it will be proper to state to you the principal objects which were to be discussed.

The possession of Amphipolis is the first source of our differences with Philip.^q This city appertains to us; he has seized on it, and we demand that it shall be restored.

He has declared war against some of our allies: it would be both shameful and dangerous for us to abandon them. Of this number are the cities of the Thracian Chersonesus, and

* The 15th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

^o Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 403 et 412. Demosth. de Coron. p. 477.

^p Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440.

^q Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406.

† The 18th of March.

those of Phocis. King Cotys had taken from us the former.^{*}—His son Cersobleptes restored them to us after having held them a few months;[†] but we have not yet taken possession. It is to our interest to preserve them, because they will give security to our navigation in the Hellespont and our commerce in the Euxine sea. Neither ought we to refuse our protection to the latter, because they defend the pass of Thermopylæ, and are the bulwark of Attica by land, as those of Thrace are on the side of the sea.[‡]

When our deputies took leave of the king, he proceeded towards Thrace; but he promised them not to attack Cersobleptes during the negotiations for peace.[§] We are not equally at our ease with respect to the Phocians. The ambassadors of Philip have declared that he refuses to comprehend them in the treaty; but his partisans assure us that, if he has not yet openly made known his intentions in their favour, it is only that he may not too precipitately give offence to the Thebans and Thessalians, their enemies.^{||}

He has signified, also, that it is his intention

^{*} Demosth. adv. Aristocr. p. 742, 746, &c. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 434.

[†] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305. Id. adv. Aristocr. p. 742, Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 406.

[‡] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321.

[§] Æschin. ibid. p. 408.

to exclude from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus in Thessaly, who are in alliance with us, and whom he now besieges, in revenge for their incursions on the people of Pharsalos, who are under his protection.⁷

I pass over other articles of less importance.

The proceedings of the assembly of this day began by reading the decree which the agents of our allies had taken the precaution to procure.⁸ It contained in substance, "that the people of Athens deliberating on a peace with Philip, the allies have resolved that, after the ambassadors sent by the Athenians to the different states of Greece shall have returned, and made their report in presence of the Athenians and the allies, the Prytanes shall convoke two assemblies to consider on the peace; and the allies previously engage to ratify whatever may be determined on in those assemblies; and that three months shall be granted to any other of the Grecian states who shall be willing to accede to the treaty."

After this resolution had been read, Philocrates proposed a decree, one of the articles of which formally excluded from the treaty the inhabitants of Halus and the Phocians. The people blushed at the proposal,⁹ and the minds of the assembly became heated and agitated.

⁷ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 299. Ulpian. ibid. p. 356.

⁸ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 404. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 438.

⁹ Demosth. ibid. p. 296 et 317.

Some of our orators rejected all modes of accommodation, and exhorted us to cast our eyes on the monuments of our victories and the tombs of our forefathers. "Let us emulate the courage of our ancestors," replied Æschines, "when they defended their country against the innumerable hosts of the Persians; but let us not imitate their conduct when they imprudently sent forces into Sicily to the succour of the Leontines their allies."^b He concluded for peace: the orators who followed him did the same, and the decree passed.

While the conditions of the treaty were in discussion, letters were brought from our general Proxenus, whom we had commissioned to take possession of some strong places at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ. These places had been offered to us by the Phocians; but, in the mean time, some dissensions taking place among them, the predominating party had refused to give them up to Proxenus. Such was the substance of these letters.^c

We have lamented the blind obstinacy of the Phocians, but we have not abandoned them. The article in the decree of Philocrates, by which they were excluded from the treaty, has been erased; and in its stead it has been in-

^b Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 342. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406.

^c Æschin. ibid. p. 416.

serted, that Athens stipulates in her own name, and in the name of all her allies.^d

When the assembly rose, every one said that a peace indeed should be concluded with Philip; but it did not seem proper that we should contract an alliance with him, till the deputies which had been sent to the different states of Greece should be returned.^e

*The 19th of Elaphebolion.** Demosthenes having secured the rostrum, declared, that all the proceedings of the day before must be utterly ineffectual, unless the Macedonian ambassadors could be persuaded to concur: that we ought not to *rend* the alliance from the peace (for that was the expression he employed), nor to wait the dilatory proceedings of the other states of Greece, which should determine each for itself for peace or war. The ambassadors from Macedon were present. Antipater answered according as had been concerted between him and Demosthenes, who now addressed his discourse to him.^f The matter has not been profoundly investigated. It had been enacted, by a previous decree, that, in the first assembly, every citizen might give his opinion on the subjects proposed for deliberation; but that on the next day the presidents should take the suffrages in

^d Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317.

^e Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 439.

* The 19th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

^f Æschin. *ibid.*

order: they have accordingly taken them, and we have at once made a treaty of peace and a treaty of alliance.^a

The principal articles of this treaty are as follow: We cede to Philip our claims to Amphipolis;^b but we are given to expect in return either the island of Eubœa, of which he may in some manner dispose, or the city of Oropus, which the Thebans have taken from us.^c We flatter ourselves, likewise, that he will leave us in the possession of the Thracian Chersonesus.^d We have comprehended all our allies in the treaty, and thus protect the king of Thrace, the people of Halus, and the Phocians. We guarantee to Philip all that he at present possesses, and we engage to consider as enemies all who shall make attempts to deprive him of them.^e

Objects so important ought to have been discussed and settled in a general assembly of the Grecian states.^f It was the wish of our allies that such an assembly should be convened, and we had determined to convoke it;^g but the affair suddenly took a rapid turn, and every thing was concluded with precipitation. Philip had

^a Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 405.

^b Demosth. de Pace, p. 63. Lit. Phil. ap. Demosth. p. 117.

^c Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 297 et 326. Id. de Pace, p. 61.

^d Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.

^e Id. ibid. p. 315.

^f Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 437.

^g Id. ibid. p. 438.

written to us, that, if we would enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himself more clearly with respect to the cessions he could make to us.^o This vague promise has dazzled the people, and the desire of pleasing the king of Macedon seduced our orators. Though his ambassadors have entered into no engagements,^p we have hastened to take the oath to them, and to name deputies, who are to depart from Macedon to receive that of the king.^q

These are in number ten, without enumerating the deputy of our allies.^r Some of them went on the former embassy; among whom are Demosthenes and Æschines. Their instructions contain, among other things, that the treaty shall extend to the allies of Athens and those of Philip; that the deputies shall repair to that prince to receive the ratification of it; that they shall avoid all particular conference with him; that they shall demand the Athenians whom he holds in chains to be set at liberty; that in each of the cities which are in alliance with him, they shall receive the oath of those who are at the head of the government; and that they shall be empowered to act according to circumstances, and as they shall judge most con-

^o Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 300.

^p Id. ibid. p. 304.

^q Id. de Coron. p. 477.

^r Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410.

ducive to the interests of the republic.^s The senate is directed to hasten their departure.^t

*The 25th of Elaphebolion.** The agents or representatives of some of our allies have this day taken the oath, in presence of the ambassadors of Philip.^u

The 3d of Munychion.† It is the interest of Philip to defer the ratification of the treaty, and ours to hasten it; for we have suspended all our preparations, and he has never been so active. He presumes with reason that we shall not dispute with him the possession of those places which he may conquer in the interim. Demosthenes, however, has penetrated his designs, and has prevailed on the senate, of which he is a member, to pass a decree that our ambassadors shall set out for Macedon as soon as possible.^x They will depart without delay.

The 15th of Thargelion.‡ Philip has not yet signed the treaty: our ambassadors have made no extraordinary haste to come up with him; they are in Macedon, and he is in Thrace. Notwithstanding he had given his word not to enter the territories of king Cersobleptes, he has

^s Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 337. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 411.

^t Demosth. ibid. p. 317.

^{*} The 25th of March of the year 346 before Christ.

^u Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 488. Id. in Ctesiph. p. 439.

[†] The 1st of April of the same year.

^x Demosth. ibid. p. 316 et 317.

[‡] The 13th of May of the same year.

seized on one part of them, and is making preparations to possess himself of the other; by which acquisition he will considerably increase his power and revenues: for besides that the country is very rich and populous, the duties that the king of Thrace collects in his ports^y amount annually to two hundred talents.* It would have been easy for us to have prevented this conquest. Our ambassadors might have reached the Hellespont in less than ten days, or, perhaps, in less than three or four:^z they would have found Philip in the neighbourhood, and might have offered him the alternative of accepting or refusing the conditions of peace. In the former case, he must have engaged not to invade the territories of our allies, among whom the king of Thrace would have been included; and in the latter, our army, in conjunction with that of the Phocians, would have stopped his progress at Thermopylæ;^a our fleets, masters of the seas, would have prevented his from making his descent on Attica; we should have shut against him our ports, and, rather than have suffered the trade of his subjects to be ruined, he would have paid a proper respect to our claims and our rights.

Such was the plan of Demosthenes, who re-

^y Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 743.

* 1,080,000 livres (45,000*l.*)

^z Demosth. de Coron. p. 477.

^a Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 316.

commended that the ambassadors should go by sea; but Æschines, Philocrates, and the greater part of them, preferred going by land, and journeying by short stages, so that they have been three-and-twenty days in going from Athens to Pella, the capital of Macedonia.^b When they had arrived, they might immediately have repaired to the camp of Philip, or have gone to the different cities to receive the oath of the allies; instead of which they have determined quietly to remain at Pella till his expedition shall be terminated.

On his return he will include his new acquisitions among the possessions which we have guarantied to him; and if we should allege that his seizure of the territories of Cersobleptes is an infraction of the treaty, he will reply, that, at the time he made this conquest, he had not yet seen our ambassadors, nor ratified the treaty which was to limit the progress of his arms.^c

In the mean time, the Thebans having implored his assistance against the Phocians, not satisfied with sending them troops,^d he has seized this opportunity to assemble in his capital the deputies of the principal cities of Greece. His pretext for this convention is, that the war between the Thebans and the

^b Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317.

^c Id. ibid. p. 318. Ulpian. ibid. p. 377.

^d Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 411.

Phocians may be terminated; but his real object to hold Greece inactive till he shall have executed the projects he has formed.

*The 13th of Sciophorion.** Our ambassadors have at length returned: they will give an account of their embassy to the senate on the day after to-morrow, and on the next day to the assembly of the people.^c

The 15th of Sciophorion.† If we believe Demosthenes, nothing can be conceived more shameful and criminal than the conduct of our ambassadors. He accuses them of having sold themselves to Philip, and betrayed the republic and her allies. He earnestly pressed them to repair immediately to Philip; but they obstinately persisted in waiting for him at Pella for seven-and-twenty days, and did not see him till fifty days after their departure from Athens.^f

The king of Macedon, on his return, found the deputies of the first cities of Greece assembled in his capital, alarmed at his new conquests, and still more disquieted at the design he manifested continually to approach Thermopylæ.^g All were ignorant of, and endeavoured to discover, his real views. The courtiers of the king said to some of our ambassadors, that the cities of Bœotia would be re-

* The 9th of June of the year 346 before Christ.

^c Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 296 et 302.

† The 11th of June.

stored to their rights, and that hence we might conclude that Thebes was threatened. The ambassadors from Lacedæmon credited this report, and, joining with ours, pressed Philip to execute his project. The Thessalians, however, said that the expedition was intended against them alone.

While the deputies were alternately agitated by their hopes and fears, Philip employed to gain them over sometimes presents,^b which seemed to be only testimonies of esteem, and sometimes caresses, which might be taken for the overflowings of friendship. Æschines and Philocrates are suspected not to have been insensible to these two modes of seduction.

On the day of public audience, the ambassadors were made to wait, for the king was not risen; and when they murmured, Parmenio said to them: "Be not surprised that Philip sleeps while you wake, for he watched while you slept."ⁱ At length he appeared, and each in turn addressed him on the subject of their mission.^k Æschines enlarged on the resolution which the king had taken to put an end to the war of the Phocians.—He conjured him, when he should be at Delphi, to restore liberty to the cities of Bœötia, and to re-establish those which the Thebans had destroyed; he recom-

^b Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 313.

ⁱ Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 179.

^k Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412.

mended to him not indiscriminately to deliver up to the latter people the wretched inhabitants of Phocis, but to submit the sentence of those who had profaned the temple and treasury of Apollo to the determination of the Amphictyonic states, who had always possessed the right to punish such kinds of crimes.

Philip did not explain himself openly with respect to these demands. He dismissed the other deputies, and departed with ours for Thessaly; and it was only in an inn in the city of Pheræ that he signed the treaty which he swore to observe.¹ He refused to include in it the Phocians, that he might not violate the oath he had sworn to the Thessalians and Thebans:^m but he gave promises and a letter. Our ambassadors took their leave, and the troops of the king advanced towards Thermopylæ.

The senate met this morning, and the hall was filled with people.ⁿ Demosthenes has endeavoured to prove that his colleagues have acted contrary to their instructions, that they are sold to Philip, and that our only resource is to fly to the succour of the Phocians, and to seize on the pass of Thermopylæ.^o

The letter of the king was insufficient to calm the minds of the people: "I have taken the oath," says he, "in the presence of your am-

¹ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 317.

^m Id. ibid. p. 300 et 343. Ulpian. p. 357.

ⁿ Demosth. ibid. p. 296. ^o Id. Philip. 2. p. 67.

bassadors ; you will see that it contains the names of such of my allies as were present ; and I shall send you the oath of the others when it shall have been taken.”^p A little lower he adds : “ Your ambassadors would have gone to the cities of our allies, to have received their oaths ; but I have kept them with me, because I had need of them, to reconcile the people of Halus with those of Pharsalos.”^q

The letter does not say a word of the Phocians, nor of the hopes which were held out to us when we concluded the peace. He then signified to us, that if we would consent to enter into an alliance with him, he would explain himself more clearly with respect to the services which it was in his power to render us. But in his last letter he coldly says that he does not know in what he can oblige us.^r The senate has indignantly passed a decree conformable to the advice of Demosthenes ; it has not voted eulogies to the ambassadors, nor invited them to an entertainment in the prytaneum,—a tacit but severe censure, which none of our deputies have before received,^s and which must, no doubt, prejudice the people against Æschines and his adherents.

^p Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 415.

^q Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 299.

^r Id. ibid. p. 300.

^s Id. ibid. p. 300.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

*THE 16th of Sciophorion.** I am now at the house of the grave Apollodorus; I came to visit him while he was writing to you, and have snatched the pen from his hands to continue his journal.

I now know my Demosthenes by rote. Would you know what a vigorous and sublime genius can produce, make him mount the rostrum; but would you see a man completely awkward, embarrassed, and unpolished, you have only to convey him to the court of Macedon. When our deputies appeared a second time before Philip, he was in haste to speak first, and began with invectives against his colleagues, which were followed by a long display of the services he had rendered that prince, and the tiresome reading of the decrees he had caused to be passed to accelerate the peace; to which succeeded a long account of his attention to lodge the ambassadors from Macedon in his own house, to procure them good cushions at the theatre, to choose for them three teams of mules when they left Athens, and to accompany them himself on horseback; and all this openly, in despite of the envious, with the sole intention to please the monarch.

* The 12th of June of the year 346 before Christ.

† Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 302.

His colleagues covered their faces to hide their blushes at such absurdity, while he still continued, "I have not spoken of your beauty, it is the merit of a woman; nor of your memory, it is that of a rhetorician; nor your talent for drinking, it is that of a sponge." In a word, he harangued in this strange manner so long, that at last every body burst into a laugh.^a

I have another scene to describe to you. I am just come from the general assembly. It was expected that the debates would be violent and interesting. Our ambassadors cannot agree concerning the answer of Philip, though this was the grand object of their embassy. Æschines has spoken of the innumerable advantages which the king wishes to grant us;^{*} he has particularised some, and explained himself concerning others in half words, like a profound politician, and a man honoured with the confidence of the king, and alone entrusted with his secrets. After having given us a high idea of his capacity, he gravely came down from the rostrum, which Demosthenes immediately ascended, and absolutely denied all that the other had affirmed. Æschines and Philocrates however had placed themselves on each side of him, and interrupted him at every sentence by exclamations or pleasantries. The multitude

^a Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 412.

^{*} Demosth. *ibid.* p. 297.

did the same. "Since you are afraid," said Demosthenes, "that I should destroy your hopes, I enter my protest against these fallacious promises, and retire." — "Not so fast," replied Æschines; "stop one moment, and at least declare that, for the future, you will not attribute to yourself the success of your colleagues." — "No, no," replied Demosthenes, with a sarcastic smile, "I will never do you that injustice." Philocrates then said: "Athenians, be not surprised that Demosthenes and I are not of the same opinion; he drinks only water, and I only wine." These words occasioned a roar of laughter, and Philocrates remained master of the field.

Apollodorus will inform you of the catastrophe of this farce, for our assembly is now merely a comic scene, and our orators are only stage-players, who declaim with virulence against each other. It is said that on this occasion some of them have carried that privilege a little too far. Of this I know nothing; but I clearly see, that Philip laughs at them, that they dupe the people, and that the wisest part we can take is to laugh both at the people and at those who govern them.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

I SHALL now add what I think wanting to the narrative of the mad-brained Callimedon.

The people were alarmed at the arrival of Philip at Thermopylæ.² Should this prince join the Thebans our enemies, and destroy the Phocians our allies, what hope would remain to the republic? Æschines has pledged himself for the favourable dispositions of the king, and the safety of Phocis. In two or three days, he affirms, without leaving our homes, without being obliged to have recourse to arms, we shall learn that the city of Thebes is besieged, that Bœotia is free, and that Platæa and Thespiæ, which have been demolished by the Thebans, are rebuilding. Sentence will be pronounced on the sacrilege committed against the temple of Apollo by the tribunal of the Amphietyons; and the crime of a few individuals will no longer be imputed to the whole nation of the Phocians. We give up Amphipolis; but for this sacrifice we shall receive a sufficient indemnification.³

After this harangue, the people, intoxicated with hope and joy, refused to hear Demosthenes, and Philocrates proposed a decree which passed without opposition. It contains eulogiums on

² Demosth. de Coron. p. 478.

³ Id. ibid. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 297. Id. de Pace, p. 60.

Philip, a strict alliance with his posterity, and several other articles, of which the following is the most important: "If the Phocians do not give up the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, the Athenians will cause their troops to march against them."^b

This resolution taken, new deputies have been chosen, who are to repair to Philip, and superintend the execution of his promises. Demosthenes has excused himself; Æschines has pretended illness, and others have been immediately appointed in their stead. Stephanus, Dercyllus, and the rest, will depart directly;^c and in a few days we shall know whether the storm has fallen on our friends or our enemies, on the Phocians or the Thebans.

*The 27th of Scirophorion.** The ruin of Phocis and its inhabitants is complete. The general assembly was held this day at the Piræus, on the subject of our arsenals.^d Dercyllus, one of our deputies, has suddenly returned. He had learned at Chalcis in Eubœa, that, a few days before, the Phocians had submitted to Philip, who is preparing to deliver them into the hands of the Thebans. It is impossible that I should describe the grief, consternation, and terror, which have seized on all minds.

^b Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301.

^c Id. ibid. p. 312. Æschin. ibid. p. 417.

* The 23d of June of the year 346 before Christ.

^d Demosth. ibid. p. 302 et 312.

*The 28th of Sciophorion.** We are in an agitation, which the conviction of our feebleness renders insupportable. The generals, with the consent of the senate, have convened an extraordinary assembly, which has passed a decree to remove, as soon as possible, from the country, the women, children, and all kinds of moveable effects; those which are within one hundred and twenty stadia† to be conveyed to the city, and the Piræus; and those beyond that distance to Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. It is likewise enacted, that the walls of Athens, and other places of strength, shall be repaired, and that sacrifices shall be offered to Hercules, as is our custom in times of public calamity.‡

The 30th of Sciophorion.† The following are the particulars of the misfortune of the Phocians. At the very time when Æschines and Philocrates were making us such magnificent promises on the part of Philip, he had already passed the straits of Thermopylæ.§ The Phocians, uncertain of his real designs, and fluctuating between fear and hope, could not resolve to seize that important post. They occupied the places which are at the entrance of

* The 24th of June.

† About four leagues and a half.

‡ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312. Id. de Coron. p. 478.

§ The 26th of June.

¶ Demosth. de Cor. ibid.

the defile. The king sought to treat with them: they mistrusted his intentions, and wished to know ours; and soon after receiving advice by deputies, which we had dispatched to them,^g of what had passed in our assembly of the 16th of this month,* they were persuaded that Philip, acting in concert with us, meant in reality to attack the Thebans, and no longer thought of defending themselves.^h Phalæcus, their general, surrendered to him Nicæa, and the fortresses in the environs of Thermopylæ, and obtained permission to retire into Phocis, with the eight thousand men under his command.ⁱ —At this news, the Lacedæmonians, who were marching, under the conduct of Archidamus, to the assistance of the Phocians, again returned quietly towards Peloponnesus;^j and Philip, without effort, without opposition, without losing a single man, may now decide on the fate of a people who for ten years have resisted all the attacks of the Thebans and the Thessalians, obstinately bent on their destruction. This is now, no doubt, determined: Philip has promised, and owes it to his allies: he will believe likewise that it is to his interest. He will treat the Phocians as wretches guilty of sacri-

^g Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 302.

* The 12th of June.

^h Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.

ⁱ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 417. Diod. lib. 16. p. 455.

^j Demosth. ibid. p. 301 et 305.

lege; and if he should exercise cruelty towards them, he will be condemned indeed by a small number of sages, but every where adored by the multitude.

How completely has he deceived us! or rather how obstinately have we persisted in the resolution to be deceived! When he made our ambassadors wait so long at Pella, was it not manifest that he wished to finish his expedition in Thrace without interruption? When he kept them with him, after having dismissed the others, was it not clear that his intention was to complete his préparations, and prevent us from continuing ours? When he sent them back with words which promised every thing, and a letter that promised nothing, was it not demonstrated that he had entered into no engagement with us?

I had forgotten to tell you, that in this letter he proposed to us to cause our troops to advance, and, in concert with him, terminate the war of the Phocians:^k but he knew well that this letter would not be delivered to us till after he should be master of Phocis.

We have at present no other resource than the indulgence or pity of this prince. The pity!—Ye manes of Themistocles and Aristides! By entering into an alliance with him, and hastily

^kDemosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 416.

concluding a peace, at a time when we invited the other states of Greece to take arms, we have lost our possessions and our allies.¹ To whom can we now address ourselves? All the north of Greece is devoted to Philip. In Peloponnesus, Elis, Arcadia, and Argolis, filled with his partisans,^m will not, any more than the other states of that country, pardon our alliance with the Lacedæmonians;ⁿ and the latter people, notwithstanding the restless ardour of Archidamus their king, prefer peace to war. On our side, when I view the state of our navy, our army, and finances, I only behold the shattered remains of a once formidable power.

A general outcry has been raised against our deputies. They are very culpable if they have betrayed us, and very unfortunate if they are innocent. I asked Æschines why they staid in Macedon. He answered: Because we had no orders to go farther.^o I likewise asked him why he had flattered us with such specious but false hopes. He replied: I have related what I was told, and what I saw, as I was told it and as I saw it.^p—This orator, when he heard of the progress of Philip, immediately set out to join the third deputation which we have sent to that prince, though a few days before he had declined being one of the deputies.^q

¹ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 315.

^m Id. ibid. p. 334.

ⁿ Id. de Pace. p. 62.

^o Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 310.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF ARCHIAS.

The 3d year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 27th of June of the year 346, to the 15th of July of the year 345, before Christ).

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

*THE 7th of Metagitnion.** It is yet permitted us to be free. Philip will not turn his arms against us: he has hitherto been occupied by the affairs of Phocis, and other motives will soon oblige him to return to Macedon.

As soon as he arrived at Delphi, he assembled the council of the Amphictyons, in order to decree an exemplary punishment against those who had seized on the temple and the sacred treasure. The form was legal; we ourselves had indicated it in our decree of the 16th of Scirophorion;† yet, as the Thebans and Thessalians, by the number of their suffrages, dispose at pleasure of the decisions of that tribunal, the judgement pronounced must necessarily be influenced by hatred and cruelty.‡ The principal authors of the sacrilege are devoted to public execration; they may be pursued wherever they fly.⁴ The nation, as an accomplice in their crime, since it took up arms

* The 1st of August of the year 346 before Christ.

† The 12th of June of the same year.

‡ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 301.

⁴ Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455.

in their defence, loses the double suffrage it had in the assembly of the Amphictyons, and this privilege is for ever transferred to the kings of Macedon. All the cities of Phocis, excepting three, of which it is thought sufficient to destroy the fortifications, are to be demolished, and reduced to villages of fifty small houses placed at a certain distance from each other.^c The inhabitants of Phocis, deprived of the right of offering sacrifices, or participating in the sacred ceremonies, may cultivate their lands, but must annually pay sixty talents* into the sacred treasury, till they shall have restored the whole sum which they have taken out of it. They are to deliver up their arms and horses, and are not to possess others till they have made complete restoration to the treasury. Philip, in concert with the Bœotians and Thessalians, is to preside at the Pythian games, instead of the Corinthians, who are accused of having favoured the Phocians. There are also other articles, the object of which is to re-establish union among the states of Greece, and restore the dignity of divine worship in the temple of Apollo.^d

The proposition of the Ætæans of Thessaly was cruel, because it was conformable to the laws enacted against sacrilege. They proposed

^c Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 455. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 804.

* 324,000 livres (13,500*l.*)

to exterminate the impious race of the Phocians, by casting their infants from the top of a rock. But Æschines warmly opposed this motion, and saved the hope of a multitude of wretched families.*

Philip has caused the decree to be executed, according to some, with rigorous barbarity,[†] but, according to others, with more moderation than the Thebans and Thessalians would have showed.[‡]

Twenty-two walled towns constituted the ornament of Phocis.[§] The greater part of these are now only heaps of ashes and ruins.^{||} In the fields we only behold aged men, women, children, and infirm persons, whose feeble and trembling hands with difficulty gather from the earth some gross sustenance. Their sons, their husbands, their fathers, have been forced to abandon them; some, sold for slaves, groan in chains;[¶] and others, proscribed and fugitive, find no asylum throughout Greece. We have received some of them, and the Thessalians already charge us with it as a crime.^{‡‡} Even should more fortunate circumstances bring them back to their country, what a time must elapse before they can have restored to the temple of

* Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 417.

† Justin. lib. 8. cap. 5. Oros. lib. 3. cap. 12.

‡ Æschin. ibid. Diod. ibid. p. 456.

§ Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 312.

|| Id. ibid. p. 303 et 344.

¶ Id. de Coron. p. 479.

‡ Id. de Pace, p. 62.

Delphi all the gold and silver of which it has been plundered by their generals during the course of the war, and the value of which is said to amount to more than ten thousand talents !^e *

After the council was ended, Philip offered sacrifices, as returning thanks to the gods ; and, during a splendid entertainment, at which were present two hundred guests, including our deputies and those of the other states of Greece, hymns were sung in honour of the gods ; and songs of victory to celebrate the triumph of the monarch.^f

The 1st of Pyanepsion.† Philip, before he returned into his territories; has fulfilled the engagements he had contracted with the Thebans and the Thessalians.^g He has given to the former Ochromenus, Coronea, and other cities in Bœotia, which they have dismantled ;^h and to the latter, Nicæa, and the places which are at the outlet of the pass of Thermopylæ,ⁱ and which the Phocians had taken from the Locrians. Thus the Thessalians remain masters of the strait; but they are so easily to be deceived,^k that Philip risks nothing in confiding it to

^e Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 453.

* More than 54,000,000 livres (2,250,000*l.*)

^f Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 313. Æschin. *ibid.* p. 421.

† The 23d of October of the year 346 before Christ.

^g Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 343.

^h Id. de Pace, p. 62. Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 315 et 344.

ⁱ Id. Phil. 2. p. 66. Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 450.

^k Illian. in Olynth. 2. p. 88.

their custody. For his part, he has derived from his expedition all the advantages he expected: he is at liberty to pass Thermopylæ whenever he shall judge proper;¹ he has obtained the honour of having terminated a religious war, and has acquired the right of presiding at the Pythian games, and the still more important right of a seat and suffrage in the council of the Amphictyons.

As this latter privilege may give him a very great preponderance in the affairs of Greece, he is extremely anxious to preserve it. At present, he has only received it from the Thebans and the Thessalians: to render it valid and legitimate, the consent of the other states which compose the league is necessary. His ambassadors, and those of the Thessalians, came not long since to solicit our concurrence;^m which they did not obtain,ⁿ though Demosthenes was of opinion their request should be granted. He feared lest a refusal should irritate the Amphictyonic states, and render Attica a second Phocis.^o

We are so dissatisfied with the late peace, that we have been glad of an opportunity to offer this affront to Philip. If he is offended at our refusal, we have much more reason to be so at his proceedings. In fact, we have given up every thing to him, and he has only relaxed in

¹ Demosth. de Pace, p. 62. ^m Id. de Fals. Leg. p. 310.

ⁿ Id. Phil. 1. p. 62. ^o Id. de Pace. Liban. Argum. p. 59.

the single article of the cities of Thrace, which appertain to us.^p Both sides will now remain in a state of mutual distrust; the consequence of which will be infractions and re-accommodations, which it is but too probable will terminate in some fatal catastrophe.

You are astonished at our audacity. The people no longer fear Philip now he is at a distance, though we dreaded him too much when he was near. The manner in which he has conducted and terminated the war with the Phocians, his disinterestedness in the division of the spoils, and the profound policy he has displayed, may with reason inspire us with as much security for the present as fears for a future time, which, perhaps, is not far distant. Other conquerors hasten to possess themselves of a country, without bestowing a thought on those who inhabit it; but Philip endeavours to subdue the Greeks before he conquers Greece. He wishes to allure us, to gain our confidence, to accustom us to our chains, to oblige us perhaps to request them from him, and by slow and lenient methods to become insensibly our arbiter, our defender, and our master.

I shall conclude by two anecdotes which have been related to me of him. While he was at Delphi, he was informed that an Achæan, named

^p Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 305.

Arcadion, a man of wit and prompt at repartee, hated him, and affected to shun his presence. He one day met this man by accident, and said to him with great mildness: "How long will you fly me?" "Until," replied Arcadion, "I shall arrive at some place where your very name is unknown." The king only laughed, and engaged him by kindness and caresses to come and sup with him.^a

This prince is so great, that I have long expected him to be guilty of some weakness; nor have I been deceived. He has just forbidden the use of chariots in his dominions,^r because a soothsayer has predicted that he shall die by a chariot.*

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF EUBULUS.

The 4th year of the 108th Olympiad.

(From the 15th of July of the year 345, to the 4th of July of the year 344, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

TIMONIDES of Leucadia arrived here a few days since. You were acquainted with

^a Theoph. Dur. Phil. ap. Athen. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 249.

^r Cicer. de Fat. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. 1. cap. 8. Extern. N^o 9. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 45.

* The authors who relate this anecdote add, that a chariot was engraved on the handle of the poniard with which this king was assassinated.

him at the academy, and you know that thirteen years ago he accompanied Dion into Sicily, and continually fought by his side. The history on which he is employed will contain the particulars of that celebrated expedition.*

Nothing can be imagined more dreadful than the state in which he has left the island of Sicily, formerly so flourishing. It seems as if Fortune had chosen it for the theatre where she might exhibit, within a small number of years, all the vicissitudes of which human affairs are capable. She at first produced two tyrants, who oppressed the country during half a century. Against the latter of these princes she raised Dion, his uncle; against Dion, Calippus his friend; and against that infamous assassin, Hipparinus; whom two years after she destroyed by a violent death,[†] and whose place she supplied by a rapid succession of despots, less powerful, but not less cruel than the former.[‡]

These different eruptions of tyranny, preceded, accompanied, and followed by terrible shocks, have been all distinguished, like the explosions of *Ætna*, by dreadful traces. The same scenes are every instant renewed in the principal cities of Sicily, the greater part of which have broken the bonds that constituted their strength by at-

* Plut. in Dion. p. 967, 971 et 972.

† Plat. Ep. 8. t. iii. p. 356. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. cap. 4. Diod. lib. 16. p. 436. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 436.

‡ Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236.

aching them to the capital, and have delivered themselves up to leaders who have enslaved by promising them liberty. Hippon has made himself master of Messana, Mamercus of Catana, Icetas of Leontini, Nisæus of Syracuse, and Leptines of Apollonia,* while other cities groan under the yoke of Nicodemus, Apolloniades, &c.† These revolutions have not been effected without torrents of blood, and giving birth to implacable hatreds and the most atrocious crimes.

The Carthaginians, who possess many places in Sicily, extend their conquests, and daily make incursions into the territories of the Grecian cities, the inhabitants of which experience, without the least interruption, at once the horrors of a foreign and a civil war; incessantly exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, the enterprises of the tyrant of Syracuse, the enormities of their particular tyrants, and to the rage of parties, which has arisen to such a height as to arm even the good and virtuous citizens against each other.

Such a train of calamities have rendered Sicily only one profound solitude, one vast tomb. The villages and towns have disappeared;‡ the fields lie uncultivated; and the cities, half destroyed

* Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 236 et 247.

† Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472.

‡ Plut. *ibid.* Diod. *ibid.* p. 473.

and deserted, seem transfixed with terror at the menacing aspect of those citadels,^a which enclose within their walls their tyrants surrounded by the ministers of death.

You perceive, Anacharsis, that nothing is more fatal to a degenerate nation than to attempt to break its chains. The Greeks of Sicily were too corrupted to preserve their liberty, and too vain to endure servitude. Their dissensions and their wars have only proceeded from the monstrous alliance which they wished to form between the love of independence and their excessive taste for pleasures. By their restless agitation, they are become the most unfortunate of men, and the most abject of slaves.

Timonides has this moment left me : he has received letters from Syracuse. Dionysius has re-ascended the throne, from which he has driven Nisæus, the son of the same father, but by another mother.^b Nisæus had reigned some years, and continued with splendor the tyranny of his predecessors. Betrayed by his partisans,^c thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to die, he has passed his last days in a state of continual intoxication.^d He has died like his brother Hipparinus, who had reigned before him,^e after

^a Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.

^b Plut. in Timol. p. 236.

^c Justin. lib. 21. cap. 3.

^d Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 435.

^e Ibid. p. 436.

having lived like another of his brothers named Apollocrates.^f

Dionysius has a great revenge to take on his subjects. They deprived him of the supreme power, and during several years he was compelled to endure in Italy a weight of ignominy and contempt.^g They fear, with reason, the impetuosity of his temper, and his vindictive spirit, irritated by what he has suffered. These we may well expect to produce a new intrigue in the great tragedy which Fortune exhibits in Sicily.

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

WE have just received news from Sicily. Dionysius believed himself happy in being again seated on a throne so often stained by the blood of his family; but this was the fatal moment in which his evil destiny awaited him. His wife, his daughters, and the youngest of his sons, have perished together, by the most lingering and cruel of deaths. When he departed from Italy for Sicily, he left them in the capital of the Epizephyrian Locrians, who took advantage of his absence to besiege them in the citadel; which having taken, they stripped them naked, and

^f Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 41.

^g Plat. Epist. 7. p. 334.

exposed them to the brutal desires of an unbridled populace, whose fury was not assuaged by this excess of indignity. They put them to death by thrusting needles under their nails, broke their bones in a mortar, and cut the rest of their bodies into pieces, which they threw into the flames or the sea, after having forced every citizen to taste of their flesh.^b

Dionysius was accused of having, in concert with the physicians, shortened the life of his fatherⁱ by poison, and put to death several of his brothers and relations, whom he suspected of forming designs against his authority.^k He has ended, by being the executioner of his wife and children; for, when a whole people is guilty of such strange barbarities,* it becomes necessary to examine the affair with attention to discover to whom the guilt is to be imputed. If we consider the conduct of the Locrians, we shall find they lived peaceably, under laws which maintained order and tranquillity in their city.^l Dionysius, driven from Syracuse, solicited from them an asylum; which they granted the more readily, as a treaty of alliance subsisted between them and him, and his mother had been born among them. Their fathers,

^b Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Plut. in Timol. p. 242. Strab. lib. 6. p. 260. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 8.

ⁱ Plut. in Dion. p. 960.

^k Justin. lib. 21. cap. 1. Ælian. lib. 6. cap. 12.

^l Strab. *ibid.* p. 259.

by permitting, contrary to the maxims of true policy,^m that a private family should give a queen to Sicily, had not foreseen that Sicily would send them a tyrant in return. Dionysius, by the aid of his relations and his troops, gained possession of the citadel; seized on the property of the rich citizens, who were almost all massacred by his orders; exposed their wives and daughters to the most infamous prostitution; and in a few years entirely destroyed the laws, manners, tranquillity, and happiness of a nation, which so many injuries had rendered ferocious.ⁿ

The dreadful calamity which he has suffered has spread terror through his whole kingdom. It cannot be doubted but Dionysius will refine even on the cruelties of his father, and verify a prediction which a Sicilian related to me not long since.

While the subjects of Dionysius the Elder were continually uttering imprecations against him, he learned with surprise that a very old woman in Syracuse every morning prayed to the gods that she might not survive her king. He therefore caused her to be brought before him, and inquired the reason of her tender affection. "I will tell you," said she: "When I was a child, which is now a long time ago, I

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 396.

ⁿ Justin. lib. 21. cap. 2 et 3. Clearch. ap. Athen. lib. 12. p. 541. Ælian. lib. 9. cap. 8. Strab. lib. 6. p. 259.

heard every one making heavy complaints against him who governed us, and I joined in wishing his death. He was murdered; and a second came, who having seized on the citadel, caused us to regret the former. We conjured the gods to deliver us from him, and they heard our prayers. You succeeded him, and you have been worse than both the others; but as I expect, from what we have already experienced, that your successor will be guilty of still greater cruelties than you, I every day address vows to heaven for your preservation." Dionysius, struck with the frankness of the woman, did not put her to death, but treated her with kindness.*

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF LYCISCUS.

The 1st year of the 109th Olympiad.

(From the 4th of July of the year 344, to the 23d of July of the year 343, before Christ.)

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

THE kings of Macedon hated the Illyrians, who had often defeated them: Philip hates no nation, because he fears none; he only aims to enslave all.

* Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 2. Extern. N° 2.

Follow, in imagination, if you are able to do it, the rapid operations of his last campaign. He assembles a powerful army, falls on Illyria; takes several cities, amasses immense plunder; returns to Macedon, penetrates into Thessaly, whither he is invited by his partisans; delivers that country from all the petty tyrants by which it was oppressed; divides it into four great districts, at the head of which he places the chiefs whom the people desire, and who are devoted to him; attaches the inhabitants to himself by new ties, causes the duties he received in their ports to be confirmed to him, and quietly returns to his dominions.^p What is the result of this conduct? While the barbarians, shuddering with rage, are compelled to bear the chains he has imposed on them, the blinded Greeks hasten to offer themselves to servitude. They consider him as the enemy of tyranny, as their friend, their benefactor, and their saviour.^q Some intrigue to procure an alliance with him,^r and others implore his protection. At this very time he has openly undertaken the defence of the Messenians and Argives; he has furnished them with men and money, and signified to the Lacedæmonians that, if they shall attack them, he will immediately enter Peloponnesus.^s Demos-

^p Demosth. Phil. 2. p. 66. Phil. 3. p. 89. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463.

^q Demosth. de Coron. p. 479.

^r Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 463.

^s Demosth. Phil. 2. p. 65.

thenes is gone into Messenia and Argolis, and has in vain endeavoured to show those states their true interests:

FROM THE SAME.

AMBASSADORS from Philip are arrived. He complains of the calumnies which we circulate against him, respecting the late peace. He maintains that he never entered into any engagement, nor made any promise, and defies us to prove the contrary.¹ Our deputies then have shamefully deceived us, and, as Demosthenes has urged, ought to be compelled, either to justify their conduct, or suffer the punishment they merit.²

This they will soon meet. The orator Hyperides has lately brought a public accusation against Philocrates, and detected his villany and artifice. The indignation against him was general, but he himself appeared unmoved; he waited for the rage of the multitude to subside. “Why do you not defend yourself?” said some one to him. ‘It is not time,’ answered he.—“What then do you wait for?” ‘For the people to condemn some

other orator.'^x At length, however, proof having been obtained that he had received rich presents from Philip,^y he has fled to escape the punishment due to his crime.

LETTER OF CALLIMEDON.

YOU have heard it said that, in the times of our forefathers, about ten or twelve centuries past, the gods, as a relaxation from the eternal sameness of their felicity, sometimes descended to the earth to amuse themselves with the daughters of mortals. You may perhaps imagine that they have since lost their relish for this intercourse; but, if you do, you are mistaken.

It is not long since I saw an *athleta*, named Attalus,^z born at Magnesia, a city situate on the Mæander, in Phrygia, who came from the Olympic games, in which he had received several severe wounds, but had not been able to gain the prize.—I expressed my astonishment at this, because he appeared to me of invincible strength. His father, who was with him, said to me: His defeat ought only to be attributed to his ingratitude: when he entered himself as a competitor, he did not declare his real father,

^x Arist. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 551.

^y Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 310 et 311.

^z Æschin. Epist. 10. p. 211.

who has taken vengeance by depriving him of the victory.—He is not then your son?—No, he owes his birth to the Mæander.—How! is he the son of a river?—Beyond a doubt; my wife has told me so, and all Magnesia was a witness to the fact. According to a very ancient custom, our maidens, before they are married, bathe in the waters of the Mæander, and offer their first favours to the god. He often disdains to receive them; but he accepted those of my wife. We saw at a distance that divinity, under the figure of a beautiful young man, lead her into some close thickets with which the banks are covered.—And how do you know that he was the river?—He must have been; his head was crowned with reeds.—I submitted to this proof as demonstrative.

I communicated this strange conversation to several of my friends, who told me of a musician of Epidamnus, named Carion, who pretends that one of his children is the son of Hercules. Æschines related to me the following fact.* I shall give it you in his own words.

I was in Troas, with my young friend Cimon, and studied the Iliad in the places which are the scene of the poem. The studies of Cimon

* The true date of this transaction is several years later than the times of which I treat; but as it exemplifies the manners of the age and country, I have believed I should be pardoned the anachronism, and that it would be sufficient to acknowledge it.

were of a quite different nature. A number of maidens were to be married, and Callirhoë, the fairest among them, went to bathe in the Scamander, while her female attendant stood on the bank, at a certain distance. Callirhoë had no sooner plunged into the river, than she said, with a loud voice : Scamander, receive the homage which we owe unto thee. I receive it, replied a young man, who rose from the midst of some bushes. I was with the rest of the people at so great a distance that we could not distinguish the features of his countenance, but we could perceive that his head was covered with reeds. In the evening I laughed with Cimon at the simplicity of these people.

Four days after, the brides appeared, arrayed in all their ornaments, in a procession in honour of Venus. As they passed us, Callirhoë, perceiving Cimon, who stood next to me, suddenly fell at his feet, and exclaimed to her attendant, with a simple and artless joy : O nurse, there is the god Scamander, my first husband. Her attendant screamed aloud, and the imposture was discovered. Cimon immediately disappeared, and I closely followed him. When we had reached our house, I upbraided him with the imprudence and wickedness of the action he had committed ; but he laughed in my face, and defended himself by the example of the athleta Attalus, and the musician Carion.

After all, added he, Homer has introduced Scamander in tragedy, and I was willing he should figure in comedy. I will not end here : I will father one child on Bacchus, and another on Apollo. It is mighty well, replied I ; but, in the mean time, we are in some danger of being burnt alive, for I see the multitude approaching with flaming torches. In fact, we had only time to save ourselves by a back door, and embark immediately on board a vessel.^a

My dear Anacharsis, when it is said that an age is enlightened, no more is meant than that more knowledge is found in certain cities than in others, and that in these cities the upper ranks of citizens are better informed than they formerly were. The multitude, I do not even except that of Athens, adhere the more tenaciously to their superstitions the more efforts are made to detach them from them. During the last festivals of Eleusis, the young and charming Phryne, having thrown off her garments, and permitted her beautiful hair to float on her shoulders, entered the sea, and sported a long time in the midst of the waves. An infinite number of spectators covered the shore, and when she came out of the water, they all exclaimed : It is Venus rising from the ocean. And the populace no doubt would have taken her for that goddess, if Phryne had not been so

well known, and if some persons of understanding had thought proper to favour the deception.

Doubt it not, men have two favourite passions which philosophy will never be able to destroy ; the love of error, and the love of slavery. But let us leave philosophy, and return to Phryne. The scene which she exhibited was too much applauded not to be repeated, and will, it is probable, contribute to the improvement of the arts. The painter Apelles and the sculptor Praxiteles were on the shore, and both have conceived the design of representing Venus after the model which they had before their eyes.^b

At your return, you will see this celebrated beauty, and will no doubt acknowledge that you have seen none in Asia who could boast such an assemblage of graces. Praxiteles is desperately enamoured of her : he is a connoisseur in beauty, and declares that he never before saw an example of it so perfect. She wished to have the finest work of that artist. I will give it you with pleasure, answered he, on condition that you choose it yourself. But how difficult was it to determine amid such a number of inimitable performances ! While she hesitated, a slave whom she had secretly gained over, came running to tell his master that his work-shop had taken fire, that the greater part

of his statues were destroyed, and the rest in the most imminent danger. Alas! exclaimed Praxiteles, I am ruined if the Cupid and the Satyr are not saved. Fear nothing, cried Phryne, smiling; this is merely a contrivance of mine to guide me in my choice. She then took the statue of Cupid, and her design is to enrich with it the city of Thespiæ, her native place.^c It is likewise reported that that city intends to consecrate to her a statue, in the enclosure of the temple at Delphi, and place it by the side of that of Philip.^d It is certainly proper that a courtesan should be placed next to a conqueror.

I can pardon Phryne for ruining her lovers, but I cannot forgive her for afterwards dismissing them.^e Our laws, more indulgent, wink at her frequent infidelities, and the licentiousness of her manners; but she was suspected of having, after the example of Alcibiades, profaned the mysteries of Eleusis, and cited to answer for the crime before the tribunal of the Heliastæ. She appeared, and as the judges entered the court, she watered their hands with her tears.^f Euthias, who prosecuted her, urged that sentence of death should be pronounced against her. Hyperides spoke for her. That celebrated orator, who had loved and still en-

^c Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 20. p. 46.

^d Athen. lib. 12. p. 590.

^e Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 13. cap. 3. p. 567.

^f Posidip. *ibid.* p. 591.

tertained a passion for her, perceiving that his eloquence made no impression, caused her to approach, tore the veil which covered her bosom, and represented in the most forcible language to her judges that they would be guilty of an impiety should they condemn to death the priestess of Venus. The judges, seized with a religious fear, and still more moved by the charms exposed to their view, declared Phryne innocent.^g

For some time past, the pay of our foreign troops has amounted to more than a thousand talents.^h* We have lost seventy-five cities which were dependent on us;ⁱ but we have perhaps acquired as many beauties, each more amiable than the other. They no doubt increase the pleasures of society, but they also increase its absurdities. Our orators, philosophers, and gravest personages, value themselves on their gallantry,^k and our fine ladies learn the mathematics.^l Gnathæna does not stand in need of this resource to please. Diphilus, who is extremely fond of her, having brought out a comedy, the failure of which he could not at-

^g Athen. lib. 13. p. 590. Plut. in X Rhet. t. ii. p. 849. Quinctil. lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 120.

^h Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 315.

* 5,400,000 livres (225,000*l.*)

ⁱ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 406.

^k Athen. lib. 13. p. 588, &c.

^l Id. *ibid.* p. 583.

tribute to cabal, I happened to be at the house of his mistress when he came in, immediately after, in no small agitation, and as soon as he had entered requested that his feet might be washed.* You have no need, answered she; every body has carried you on their shoulders.^m

The same person, one day, dining with Gnathæna, asked her by what means she kept her wine so cool. I cool it, replied she, in a well into which I have thrown the prologues to your pieces.ⁿ

Before I conclude, I must mention to you a sentence which Philip has lately pronounced. Two criminals, equally guilty, were brought before him: they both deserved death, but he loves not to shed blood. He has banished one from his dominions, and condemned the other to follow him till he shall return to Macedon.^o

LETTER OF APOLLODORUS.

ISOCRATES has just shown me a letter which he has written to Philip.^p An old courtier could not display more address in flattering a prince. He apologises for having adventured

* Many Athenians went with their feet naked.

^m Athen. lib. 13. p. 583.

ⁿ Id. p. 580.

^o Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 178.

^p Isocr. Ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 442.

to give him advice, but he found himself constrained to it: the interest of Athens and of all Greece required it; the subject of it being most important, no less than the care which the king of Macedon ought to take of his life. Every one blames you, says he, for throwing yourself into the midst of danger with less precaution than a common soldier. It is no doubt a glorious action to die for our country, for our children, for those to whom we owe our existence; but nothing can be more reprehensible than to endanger a life on which depends the fate of an empire, and to tarnish, by a destructive temerity, the glory of so many great actions. He adduces the example of the kings of Lacedæmon, who, in the heat of battle, are surrounded by a number of warriors to defend their persons; of Xerxes king of Persia, who, notwithstanding his defeat, saved his kingdom by preserving himself; and of a number of generals, who, not being sufficiently careful of their own lives, have occasioned the destruction of their armies.¹

. He wishes that a sincere friendship should be established between Philip and the Athenians, and that they should, in concert, direct their power against the empire of the Persians. He speaks honourably of the republic, though he

themselves are not wholly irreproachable in our eyes.*

I shall here stop ; I am not surprised that a man above ninety years of age still creeps, after having crept during his whole life ; but what gives me most serious concern is, that many Athenians think like him ; and you will hence be led to conclude, that since your departure our ideas have greatly changed.

* Id. *ibid.* p. 450.

CHAP. LXII.

On the Nature of Governments, according to Aristotle and other Philosophers.

WE received the last letters of which I have given copies, at Smyrna, on our return from Persia ;* in which city we learned that Aristotle, after having passed three years with Hermias, governor of Atarneæ, had gone to reside at Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos.†

We were so near to him, and had been so long without having seen him, that we resolved to surprise him with a visit. Our attention gave him great pleasure. He was preparing to depart for Macedon, Philip having at length prevailed on him to undertake the education of his son Alexander. I sacrifice my liberty, said he to us, but here is my excuse ; showing us at the same time a letter from the king, conceived in the following words : † “A son is born to me, and I return thanks to the gods, less that they have given him to me, than that he has been

* In the spring of the year 343 before Christ.

† Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 3 et 9. Dionys. Halic. Epist. ad Arist. cap. 5. t. vi. p. 728.

born in your time, since I hope that your care and instruction will render him both worthy of me and the kingdom to which he is to succeed."

We passed whole days with Aristotle, and gave him an exact account of our travels. The following particulars appeared to engage his attention. I told him that, when we were in Phœnicia, we were invited to dinner with some Persian noblemen, at the house of the satrap of the province.—The conversation, as usual, only turned on *the great king*. You know, said I, that the authority of the Persian monarch is much less respected in the distant provinces than in the capital of the empire. Many instances were given of his haughtiness and despotism. It must be granted, said the satrap, that kings believe themselves to be of a totally distinct species from us." Some days after, being in company with several subaltern officers of the same province, they complained to us of the ill treatment and injustice which they had suffered from the satrap. It appears manifest to me, said one of them, that a satrap thinks himself of a quite different nature from his inferior officers. I afterwards interrogated their slaves, who all lamented the rigour of their fate, and agreed that their masters must certainly

* Lib. de Mund. ap. Aristot. cap. 6. t. i. p. 611. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 15. lib. 9. cap. 41. Quint. Curt. lib. 7. cap. 8.

think themselves a race of mortals of a superior kind to them.* On our side we were convinced, with Plato, that the greater part of men, by turns slaves and tyrants, exclaim against injustice less from the hatred which it merits than from the fear which it inspires.†

While we were at Susa, in a conversation which we had with a Persian, we remarked to him, that the condition of despots is most wretched, because they possess sufficient power to effect the greatest mischiefs. We, in consequence, deplored the slavery to which his country was reduced,‡ and contrasted it with the liberty enjoyed in Greece.—He replied, with a smile: You have passed through many of our provinces; in what condition have you found them? Extremely flourishing and populous, answered I; their trade is extensive, agriculture is honoured and nobly patronised by the sovereign;§ industry and activity are conspicuous in their manufactures; and they are in a state of profound tranquillity, though they are exposed to some oppressions on the part of their governors.

No longer confide then, replied he, in the idle declamations of your writers. I am acquainted with that Greece of which you speak. I have

* Philem. ap. Stob. Serm. 60. p. 384.

† Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 344.

‡ Id. de. Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698.

§ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 5. p. 828.

passed several years in the country, studied its institutions, and been witness to the dissensions to which it is a prey. Name to me, I do not say a whole nation, but a single city, which does not every moment experience the cruelties of despotism or the convulsions of anarchy. Your laws are excellent, but they are not better observed than ours; for we have some very wise ones, which remain ineffectual because the empire is too opulent and extensive. When the sovereign respects them, we would not change our condition for yours; when he violates them, the people have at least the consolation of hoping that the thunderbolt will only fall on the principal citizens, and recoil on the hand that has launched it. In fine, we are sometimes unhappy from the abuse of power, but you are almost always so from the excess of liberty.

These reflexions insensibly induced Aristotle to discourse on the different forms of governments, on which subject he had been employed since our departure from Greece. He had begun by collecting the laws of almost all nations, both Greek and Barbarian,^b which he showed us, arranged in order, and accompanied with remarks in so many distinct treatises, to the number of more than a hundred and

fifty.* He flattered himself he should one day be able to complete his collection. It contained, among others, the constitutions of Athens, Lacedæmon, the Thessalians, the Arcadians, Syracuse, Marseilles, and even that of the little island of Ithaca.^d

This prodigious collection might alone have insured the immortality of the author, but he only considered it as a scaffold, by the aid of which he might erect a still more noble monument. He had collected facts which presented remarkable differences and contradictions. To derive from them consequences useful to the human race, it was necessary to do what had not hitherto been done, to penetrate to the spirit of the laws, and to follow them in their effects; to examine, from the experience of successive ages, the causes which preserve or destroy states; to propose remedies against the vices which are inherent in every constitution, and against the principles of change which are foreign to it; to prepare, in a word, for any new legislator, a well-digested code, from which he may select the government best adapted to the character of his nation, according to the circumstances of time and place.^e

^c Diogen. Laërt. lib. 5. § 27.

* Diogenes Laërtius says, that the number of these treatises was a hundred and fifty-eight. Ammonius, in the Life of Aristotle, increases it to two hundred and fifty-five.

^d Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. ii. p. 197.

^e Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 144.

This great work^f was nearly finished when we arrived at Mytilene, and was published some years after.^g Aristotle permitted us to read it, and make the extract which I here subjoin.* I shall divide it into two parts.

FIRST PART.

On the different Kinds of Government.

WE must first distinguish two kinds of government; those in which public utility is the great object, and those in which it is held of no account.^h In the former class we place the limited monarchy, the aristocratical government, and the republic properly so called. Thus the constitution may be excellent, whether the supreme authority be confided to a single person, be exercised by many, or reside solely in the people.ⁱ

The second class comprehends tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, which are only corruptions of the three preceding forms of government; for limited monarchy degenerates into despotism, when the sovereign, referring every thing to himself, no longer acknowledges any bounds to his power;^k the aristocracy becomes an oligarchy, when the supreme power is no longer possessed

^f Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 295.

^g Id. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 404.

* See note VII. at the end of the volume.

^h Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 345.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 1. p. 345.

^k Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 530.

by a certain number of virtuous persons, but by a small number of rulers, whose riches alone constitute their claim to authority; and the republican government is debased into a democracy when the poorest class of people have too great an influence in public deliberations.¹

As the word monarch equally signifies a king or a tyrant, and since it may happen that the power of the one may be as absolute as that of the other, we shall distinguish them by two principal differences; * the one derived from the use which they make of their power, and the other from the dispositions which they find in their subjects. As to the former, we have already said that the king in every thing he does acts for his people, but the tyrant for himself alone; and as to the latter, we affirm that the most absolute authority becomes lawful if the subjects consent to establish or support it.^m

Pursuing these preliminary ideas, we shall find in the history of nations five kinds of kingly power.

The first is that which prevailed in the heroic ages. The sovereign possessed the right of commanding the army, and inflicting the sentence of death while he had the command of it; he presided at the sacrifices, determined the

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 346.

* See note VIII. at the end of the volume.

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 357; lib. 4. cap. 10. p. 374.

causes of individuals, and transmitted his authority to his children.^a The second was established when never-ceasing dissensions had forced a city to confide the supreme authority to an individual, either during his life, or for a certain number of years. The third is that usual among the barbarous nations of Asia. The sovereign there enjoys an immense power, which he has nevertheless received from his father, and against which the people have never remonstrated. The fourth is that of Lacedæmon, which appears to be the most conformable to the laws, which have limited the authority of the sovereign to the command of the armies and to functions relative to divine worship. The fifth, which I shall call royalty, or limited monarchy, is that in which the sovereign exercises in his states the same authority as a father in the midst of his family.^b

The last is the only kind of royal power which I shall here consider. I shall not speak of the first, because it has long been almost every where abolished; nor of the second, because it was merely a temporary commission; nor of the third, because it is only found among the Asiatics, who are more accustomed to servitude than the Greeks and Europeans;^c nor of that of Lacedæmon, because, confined within narrow

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. t. ii. p. 356 et 357.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310; lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 356.

limits, it only makes a part of the constitution, and is not in itself a distinct government.

The following then is the idea which we have formed of the true regal power. The sovereign enjoys the supreme authority,^a and extends his care over every part of the administration, as well as the preservation of the tranquillity of the state.

It is his office to cause the laws to be executed; and as, on the one hand, he cannot enforce them against those who violate them, if he have not a body of troops at his disposal; and as, on the other, he may abuse this trust, we shall establish it as a general rule that he ought to possess the power requisite to restrain individuals, but not sufficient to oppress the nation.^b

He may determine in cases for which the laws have not provided.^c The care of administering justice and punishing the guilty shall be confided to magistrates.^d As it is impossible that he should himself see and regulate all things, he shall have a council, the members of which may advise and instruct him by their knowledge and experience, and assist him in the administration of the various and minute affairs of the kingdom.^e

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 357; cap. 15. p. 359. C. cap. 16. et 17. ^b Id. lib. 3. cap. 15. p. 359. C.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 351. E.

^d Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 410. A.

^e Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 361.

Taxes shall not be imposed except on occasion of a war, or some other necessity of the state ; nor shall the sovereign insult the poverty of the people by lavishing their property on foreigners, stage-players, or courtesans.* It is, besides, his duty, by meditating on the nature of the power with which he is invested, to render himself accessible to his subjects,^y and live in the midst of them as a father in the midst of his children.^z He should be more occupied by their interests than his own ;^a and the splendor which surrounds him should inspire respect and not terror.^b Honour should be the motive of all his enterprises ;^c and the love of his people their reward.^d He should discern and recompense merit ;^e and, under his government, the rich, secured in the possession of their property, and the poor protected against the power of the rich, should learn to entertain a just esteem of themselves, and to love and defend one of the noblest constitutions established among men.^f

Yet, as the excellence of such a form of go-

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.

^y Id. ibid. p. 410.

^z Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310.

^a Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 410.

^b Id. ibid. p. 409.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403.

^d Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 310.

^e Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.

^f Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403 ; cap. 11. p. 410 ; lib. 3. cap. 14.

vernment depends solely on the moderation of the prince, it is manifest that the security and liberty of the subject must depend on it likewise; and hence it is that, in the cities of Greece, the citizens, considering themselves as all equals, and having all a right to participate in the sovereign authority, fix their attention more on the inconveniences than on the advantages of a government, which may by turns be the cause of the happiness or the wretchedness of a people.*

Royalty being only founded on the confidence which it inspires, is destroyed when the sovereign renders himself odious by his despotism, or contemptible by his vices.^b

Under a tyrant, the whole strength of a nation is turned against itself. The government is engaged in a perpetual war with its subjects: it attacks them in their laws, in their property, in their honour, and only leaves them the deep and painful sense of their misery.

A king proposes to himself to render his reign glorious, and effect the good of his people; but

* Aristotle has said scarcely any thing of the great monarchies which subsisted in his time, as those of Persia and Egypt; nor has he spoken more of the government of Macedon, though he must necessarily have been well acquainted with it. He only had in view that species of kingly power which sometimes was established in some of the cities of Greece, and which was of a quite different nature from that of the modern monarchies. (See Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, liv. 1. chap. 9. t. i. p. 224.)

a tyrant has no other view than to draw to himself all the riches of his states, to lavish them on his vile pleasures.^a Dionysius, king of Syracuse, had so multiplied taxes, that, within the space of five years, the property of every individual in his kingdom had passed into the royal treasury.ⁱ As the tyrant only reigns by the fear which he inspires, his security must be the single object of his attention.^k Hence while the guard of a king is composed of citizens interested in the good of the public, that of the tyrant only consists of foreigners, who serve as the instruments of his fury or his caprice.^l

Such a constitution, if indeed it deserves that name, contains within itself all the vices of the most corrupted governments. It naturally therefore cannot support itself, but by the most violent or the most shameful means, and must include within it all the possible causes of its destruction.

Tyranny may maintain itself when the prince takes the precaution to cut off those citizens who are too much raised above the rest;^m when he is careful to prevent the progress of knowledge which may enlighten, and to forbid

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 407.

^k Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 530.

^l Id. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.

^m Id. ibid. p. 407. Eurip. in Supplic. p. 445.

all public entertainments or meetings which may unite his subjects; when, after the example of the kings of Syracuse, he besieges them with spies, who continually hold them in disquietude and dread; when, by adroit artifices, he sows disputes in families, divisions among the different orders of the state, and distrust even in the most intimate connexions; when the people, crushed by public labours, laden with taxes, dragged to wars purposely excited, and so depressed as to be incapable of all elevation of ideas or nobility of sentiment, have neither the courage nor the means to throw off the yoke by which they are oppressed; when the throne is only surrounded by vile flatterers,ⁿ and subaltern tyrants, by so much the more useful to the despot, as they are not restrained either by shame or by remorse.

There is, however, one method that may be employed still more successfully than these to perpetuate such an authority;^o which is, when, preserving all the plenitude of his power, the sovereign is willing to subject himself to forms which may attemper its rigour, and exhibit himself to his people rather as a father who claims them as his inheritance, than as a ferocious animal,^p of whom they must be the victims.

ⁿ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 407.

^o Id. ibid. p. 408.

^p Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 16. p. 360.

As the people ought to be persuaded that their fortune is sacrificed to the good of the state, and not to the individual advantage of the sovereign, the monarch should apply himself to infuse into the minds of his subjects an exalted opinion of his abilities for the science of government.^a It will be very advantageous to him to possess the qualities which inspire respect, and the semblance of the virtues which attract love: nor will it be less so that he should appear attached, but without mean superstition, to the rites of religion; for the people will believe him to be restrained by the fear of the gods, and will not dare to rise against a prince whom they protect.^b

But he ought especially to avoid advancing one of his subjects to a power which he may abuse;^c and still more ought he to abstain from injuries and insults on individuals, and from wounding the honour of families. Among the multitude of princes whom the abuse of power has precipitated from the throne, a great number have drawn on themselves destruction by the personal injuries of which they have been guilty, or which they have authorised in others.^d

By the observance of similar maxims, arbitrary

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 11. p. 409.

^b Id. ibid.

^c Id. ibid. p. 410.

^d Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 403.

power has maintained its authority at Sicyon during a whole century, and at Corinth for nearly the same period." The sovereigns who governed those two states obtained the esteem or the confidence of their people, some by their military talents, others by their affability, and others by the respect which, on certain occasions, they paid to the laws. Every where else tyranny has subsisted a longer or a shorter time, according as it has more or less neglected to conceal itself. It has on some occasions been seen to disarm the irritated multitude, and on others to break the chains of the slaves and call them to its aid ;^{*} but it is absolutely impossible that a government so monstrous should not come to an end, because the hatred or contempt which it inspires[†] must, sooner or later, avenge the majesty of injured and insulted nations.

When, after the extinction of the regal power, the sovereign authority returns to the societies from which it has emanated, some choose to commit the exercise of it to the body of the nation, and others to confide it to a certain number of citizens.

Then take birth two powerful factions, that of the nobles, and that of the people, both of

[†] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.

^{*} Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 410.

[‡] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 406.

which were before repressed by the authority of a single chief, but, after the extinction of that power, became more intent to destroy than to counterbalance each other. Their divisions have almost every where corrupted the primitive constitution, and other causes have contributed to its change. Such are the imperfections which experience has discovered in the systems of all legislators, the abuses to which even the most legitimate power is liable, and the variations which cities and nations have experienced in their power, their manners, and their relations to other states. Thus, among the Greeks, all equally ardent in the love of liberty, we shall not find two nations, or two cities, however near to each other they may be, which have precisely the same legislation and the same form of government; but we shall every where perceive the constitution incline either towards the despotism of the principal citizens, or towards that of the multitude.

It will therefore be necessary to distinguish several species of aristocracies, some approaching more or less to the perfection of which that form of government is capable, and others more or less tending to the oligarchy which is its corruption.

The true aristocracy, therefore, will be that in which the authority is found in the hands of a certain number of enlightened and virtuous

magistrates.² By virtue I understand political virtue, which is no other than the love of the public good, or of the country.³ As all honours should be bestowed on this virtue, it must become the principle of this form of government.^b

To secure such a constitution, it will be necessary to temper it in such a manner that the principal citizens may find in it the advantages of the oligarchy, and the common people those of the democracy.^c Two laws will contribute to produce both these effects; one of which, derived from the principle of this government, shall confer the supreme magistracies on personal qualities, without regard to fortune;^d and the other prevent the magistrates from enriching themselves by their employments, by obliging them to render an account to the public of the administration of the finances.^e By the former of these laws, all the citizens may aspire to the principal dignities of the state, and the latter will induce the lower classes of the people to renounce a right which they will only value because they believe it profitable.^f

As it will be to be feared that, at length,

² Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 371; cap. 15. p. 382.

³ Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 371.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.

^c Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396.

^d Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

^e Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 399.

^f Id. ibid.

even virtue itself, invested with sovereign authority, will be enfeebled, or excite jealousy, care has been taken, in many aristocracies, to limit the power of the magistrates, and to provide that it shall pass into other hands every six months.^g

Though it may be of importance that the judges of certain tribunals should be chosen from the class of the most distinguished citizens, it will at least be necessary that there should be other tribunals, the judges of which shall be taken from all ranks of the people.^h

It appertains to this form of government alone to institute magistrates who may superintend the education of the children and the conduct of the women. Such a censorship would be ineffectual in a democracy, or an oligarchy: in the former, because the multitude would lay claim to an excess of liberty; and in the latter, because the ruling citizens would be the first to give the example of corruption and impunity.ⁱ

A system of government, in which the worthy man will never be distinct from the citizen,^k no where subsists. Were we to attempt to analyse it, other laws and other regulations would be necessary. Let us content ourselves,

^g Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 398.

^h Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 385.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 383.

^k Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 371.

in order to form a judgement of the different aristocracies, to ascend to their principle, for on that especially depends the excellence of a government. The principle of the pure aristocracy will be political virtue, or the love of public good. If we find in any subsisting aristocracy that this love has a greater or less influence on the choice of magistrates, we may thence conclude that the constitution is more or less advantageous. Hence is it that the government of Lacedæmon approaches nearer to the true aristocracy than that of Carthage, though there is in other respects a great conformity between them.¹ At Lacedæmon, the magistrate who is chosen must be animated by the love of his country, and disposed to favour the people; at Carthage, he must besides enjoy an easy fortune,^m on which account the latter government inclines more towards an oligarchy.

The constitution is in danger, in an aristocracy, when the interests of the principal citizens are not sufficiently well connected with those of the common people to prevent each of these classes from desiring to seize exclusively on the sovereign authority;ⁿ when the laws permit all the riches of the state to pass insensibly into the hands of some individuals; when

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.

^m Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 371.

ⁿ Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 396.

the first innovations by which the constitution is attacked are connived at;^o and when the magistrates, through jealousy or negligence, persecute illustrious citizens, or exclude them from the magistracy, or suffer them to become sufficiently powerful to enslave their country.^p

The imperfect aristocracy has in so many respects a relation to the oligarchy, that we must necessarily consider them together when we wish to explain the causes by which they may each be maintained or destroyed.

In the oligarchy, the supreme authority is in the hands of a small number of rich persons.^q As it is essential to this government that the principal offices of magistracy should be elective,^r and that the conferring of them should be regulated by the census, that is the fortune of individuals, riches must, in such a state, be preferred to every thing else, and produce a very great inequality among the citizens.^s The desire therefore of acquiring wealth is the principle of such a government.^t

A number of cities have of themselves chosen this form of government. The Lacedæmonians have endeavoured to introduce it among other

^o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 397.

^p Id. ibid. p. 396.

^q Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 346; lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 366; cap. 15. p. 382.

^r Id. ibid. p. 384. Id. de Rep. p. 614.

^s Id. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 385.

^t Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.

states, with the same zeal as the Athenians have laboured to establish among them the democracy ;^a but it is every where diversified according to the nature of the census, or property which a citizen is required to possess to be admitted to the principal offices ; according to the different modes in which those offices are conferred ; and according as the power of the magistrate is more or less restrained. In every such government, besides, the few citizens who govern use every endeavour to maintain their authority against the many who obey.*

The means employed to this end, in several states, is to grant to all the citizens the right of attending at the general assemblies of the nation, to permit them to fill the offices of magistracy, give their votes in the tribunals of justice, keep arms in their houses, and increase their bodily strength by the exercises of the gymnasium.^y But no punishment is denounced against the poor who neglect these advantages, while the rich who omit them are subjected to a fine.^z The indulgence shown to the former, and which is apparently founded on the multiplicity of their labours and necessities, removes them from public business, and accustoms them to consider the deliberations on the affairs of the state, the care of administering justice, and the

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 397.

^y Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 369.

other branches of government, as a heavy burthen which the rich alone are able and ought to support.

To constitute the best form of the oligarchy, it is necessary that the property required to be possessed by the citizens accounted of the first class should not be too great ; for the more numerous this class is, with more reason may it be presumed that the laws govern the state and not individuals.^a

Several offices of magistracy should not be held at the same time by persons of the same family, lest such a family should become too powerful. In some cities the son is excluded by his father, and the brother by his elder brother.^b

To prevent property from being too unequally distributed, no person should be allowed to dispose of his possessions to the prejudice of his lawful heirs ; nor, on the other hand, ought two inheritances to be permitted to accumulate in one person.^c

The common people should be under the immediate protection of the government, and should be more favoured than the rich in prosecutions for injuries done to them ; nor should any law or any influence be an impediment to their acquiring subsistence or affluence. Little jealous of those

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 371.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 392.

dignities which only confer the honour of rendering service to the country, they will with pleasure see them conferred on others, if they are not deprived of the fruits of their labours.^d

To attach them still more to the government, a certain number of inferior lucrative employments should be given to them;^e and they should be even induced to hope that, by merit, they might be raised to some important offices, as is practised at Marseilles.^f

The law which, in many oligarchies, forbids the magistrates to engage in commerce,^g produces two excellent effects; it prevents them from sacrificing to their interest the time which they owe to the state, and from exercising a monopoly which would ruin the other traders.*

When the magistrates rival each other in expending a part of their property for the embellishment of the capital, and in giving shows and public entertainments, such an emulation is advantageous to the treasury of the state. It reduces within just bounds the excessive riches of some individuals; the people easily pardon an

^d Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 400. Id. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 614.

^e Id. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 420.

^f Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 421.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 412; cap. 8. p. 399.

* At Venice, trade is forbidden the nobles. (Amelot. Hist. du Gouv. de Ven. p. 24. Esprit des Lois, liv. 5. chap. 8.)

authority which manifests itself by similar benefits, and are less attentive to the splendor of dignities than to the heavy duties annexed to them, and the real advantages which they themselves derive from them.^b

But when the property which fixes the class of the citizens who are to be permitted to share in the government is rated too high, the number of persons in this class becomes too small; and presently those who, by their intrigues or their talents, have placed themselves at the head of affairs, will endeavour to maintain their power by the same means; they will insensibly extend their privileges, assume the right of choosing their associates, or leaving their places to their children;^c and at length proceed to abolish all legal forms, and substitute with impunity their will for the laws. The government will then have arrived at the last degree of corruption, and an oligarchy will be established within an oligarchy, as has happened in the city of Elis.^d

The tyranny of a small number of citizens will not subsist longer than that of an individual,^e but must be enfeebled by the excess of its power. The rich, who are excluded from

^b Aristot. de Rep. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 241.

^c Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 380.

^d Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 394.

^e See Chap. XXXVIII. (Vol. III. page 413.)

^f Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411.

the government, will join the multitude to effect its destruction. In this manner, at Cnidus, was the oligarchy suddenly changed into a democracy.^m

The same revolution may be expected when the class of rich citizens have closely united to treat all the others as slaves.ⁿ In some places, they have even dared to take the following equally absurd and inhuman oath: "I will do to the multitude all the mischief in my power."^o Yet, as the people are alike dangerous, whether they crouch to others, or others crouch to them, they ought not to possess exclusively the right of judging, or conferring all the offices of magistracy; for then the class of rich citizens being reduced meanly to beg their suffrages, they would soon perceive that it is as easy for them to retain as to dispose of the sovereign authority.^p

The manners of a people may render a government popular which is not so, or substitute the oligarchy for the democracy.^q Though these changes set the government in opposition to the constitution, they may not be dangerous, because they are gradually effected, and with the consent of all orders of the state. But no-

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 393.

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 395.

^o Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 401.

^p Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 394.

^q Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 370.

thing is so essential as early to resist the innovations which violently attack the constitution; and, in fact, in a government which proposes to maintain a kind of equilibrium between the propensities of two powerful classes of citizens, the least advantage gained over the established laws prepares the way for its ruin. At Thurium the law did not permit any military employment to be held a second time till after an interval of five years; but some young persons, secure of the confidence of the troops, and the suffrages of the people, procured the law to be repealed, in despite of all the opposition of the magistrates, and soon after, by still bolder enterprises, changed the wise and moderate government of that state into the most dreadful tyranny.^r

Liberty, say the fanatic favourers of the popular power, can only be found in a democracy:^s it is the principle of that government; it infuses into each citizen the will to obey and the ability to command; it renders him master of himself, the equal of others, and valuable to the state of which he makes a part.

It is therefore essential to this government that all the offices of magistracy, or at least the greater part, should be conferred by lot on each individual; that, excepting military employ-

^r Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 297.

^s Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.

^t Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

ments, scarcely any offices be conferred on the same person who has before filled them; that all the citizens be alternately distributed in the courts of justice; that a senate be instituted to prepare those affairs which are finally to be determined on in the national and sovereign assembly, at which all the citizens may be present; and that a certain premium be paid to those who assiduously attend at this assembly, as also in the senate and the tribunals of justice."

This form of government is subject to the same revolutions as the aristocracy. It is attuned in those states where, to restrain an ignorant and restless populace, a moderate property is required to be possessed by those who share in the administration of affairs;* in those where, by wise regulations, the principal class of citizens are not the victims of the hatred and jealousy of the lower orders;† and every where, in a word, where, in the midst of the most tumultuous commotions, the laws have sufficient power to enforce their authority.‡ But it becomes tyrannical^a wherever the poorer citizens have too great an influence in public deliberations.

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 380; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.

* Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 368; cap. 9. p. 373; lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 414.

† Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 401; lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 419.

‡ Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 368.

^a Id. ibid. p. 405.

Several causes have bestowed on them this excess of power : the first is the suppression of the census, according to which the distribution of offices ought to be regulated;^b in consequence of which the meanest citizens possess the right of giving their voice in public affairs: the second is the premium granted to the poor and refused to the rich, when they give their suffrages either in the general assemblies or the tribunals of justice,^c and which is too small to induce the latter to be assiduous in their attendance, though it is sufficient to indemnify the former for the interruption of their labours; and hence that multitude of artisans and workmen who imperiously raise their voices in those august places where the interests of the republic are discussed: the third is the power which the state orators have acquired over the multitude.

Formerly this same multitude blindly followed the soldiery, who more than once have abused its confidence to reduce it to slavery:^d and as its destiny is eternally to be held in subjection, there have arisen, in these modern times, ambitious men who employ their talents to flatter its passions and its vices, to intoxicate it with the opinion of its power and glory, to excite its hatred against the rich, its contempt for law and order, and its love of independence. Their

^b Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap 5. p. 393.

^c Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 378.

^d Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 392.

triumph is that of eloquence, which seems only to be brought to perfection in our time,^e to introduce despotism into the bosom of liberty itself. The republics which are wisely governed do not suffer these dangerous men to lead them; but wherever they acquire influence, the government speedily arrives at the highest degree of its corruption, and the people contract the vices and the ferocity of tyrants.^f

Almost all our governments, under whatever form they may be established, contain within themselves many seeds of destruction. As the greater part of the Grecian republics are confined within the narrow limits of a city, or a district, the divisions of individuals, which become the divisions of the state, the misfortunes of a war which seems to leave no resource, the inveterate and perpetually-renewed jealousy of the different classes of citizens, or a rapid succession of unforeseen events, may in a moment shake to the foundations or overturn the constitution. We have seen the democracy abolished in the city of Thebes by the loss of a battle,^g and in those of Heraclea, Cumæ, and Megara, by the return of some principal citizens, whom the people had proscribed to enrich the public treasury with their spoils.^h We

^e Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 392.

^f Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 369.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 388.

^h Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 392.

have seen the form of government changed at Syracuse by a love-intrigue;ⁱ in the city of Eretria, by an insult offered to an individual;^k at Epidaurus, by a fine imposed on another individual;^l and how many seditions have there been which have not originated from more important causes, and which gradually spreading have at last occasioned the most destructive wars!

While these calamities afflict the greater-part of Greece, three nations, the Cretans, the Lacedæmonians, and the Carthaginians, have enjoyed in peace, for many centuries, a government which differs from all the others, though it unites their advantages. The Cretans, in the most early times, conceived the idea of limiting the power of the highest class of citizens by that of the people;^m and the Lacedæmonians and Carthaginians, doubtless from their example, that of associating the regal power with the aristocracy and democracy.ⁿ

Aristotle here succinctly explains the systems adopted in Crete, at Lacedæmon, and at Carthage. I shall state what he thinks of the latter, adding a few slight strokes to his sketch.

At Carthage, the sovereign power is divided

ⁱ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 390.

^k Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 395.

^l Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 391.

^m Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 332.

ⁿ Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 328; cap. 11. p. 334.

between two kings,* a senate, and the assembly of the people.^o

The two kings are not taken from two single families, as at Lacedæmon; but they are elected^p annually, sometimes from one family and sometimes from another. It is required, that they should be persons of birth, property, and virtue.^q

The senate is very numerous. It is the office of the kings to convene it:† they preside and deliberate in it on war and peace, and the most important affairs of the state.‡ A body of magistrates, to the number of a hundred and four, are appointed to maintain in it the interests of the people. The question under discussion may not be referred to the assembly of the nation, if opinions are unanimous; but it must if they are not.

In the general assembly, the kings and senators explain the reasons which have united or divided the suffrages. The meanest citizen may rise to oppose the decree, or the different opinions by which it may have been prevented passing. The people determine in the last instance.^u

* The Latin writers call these two supreme magistrates *Suffetes*, which is their true name; the Greek authors call them kings.

^o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 493.

^p Nep. in Hannib. cap. 7.

^q Aristot. *ibid.*

^r Liv. lib. 30. cap. 7.

^s Polyb. lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 3. p. 175 et 187.

^t Aristot. *ibid.*

^u *Id. ibid.*

All the offices of the magistracy, that of the kings, and those of the senators, the judges, and the strategi, or governors of provinces, are conferred by the way of election, and restrained within bounds prescribed by the laws. The authority of the general of the army alone knows no limits;^{*} he is absolute, when at the head of his troops; but, on his return, must render an account of his conduct before a tribunal composed of a hundred senators, who examine and judge with extreme severity.[†]

By the prudent distribution and wise exercise of these different powers, a numerous, powerful, and active people, no less jealous of their liberty than proud of their opulence, have always been able to defeat every attempt to enslave them, and, for a long series of years, enjoyed a tranquillity only disturbed by some transient storms, but which, however, have not been able to destroy the primitive constitution.[‡]

Yet, notwithstanding its excellence, this constitution has its defects. It is one, that the union of several offices of magistracy in the same person should be considered as an honourable distinction,[§] * because it is then supposed more

^{*} Isocr. in Nicocl. t. i. p. 96. Ubbo Em. in Rep. Carthag.

[†] Diod. Sic. lib. 20. p. 753. Justin. lib. 19. cap. 2.

[‡] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.

[§] Id. ibid. p. 335.

* At Venice, according to Amelot, the nobles are not permitted to hold, at the same time, several magistracies, however inconsiderable they may be. (Hist. du Gouvern. de Venise, p. 25.)

advantageous to multiply duties than to discharge them, and the people become accustomed to believe, that to obtain is to merit places. It is likewise a defect, that fortune should be considered as much as virtue in the choice of magistrates.^b Whenever, in a state, money becomes the means of promotion to honours, every other is soon neglected; the sole ambition of the citizen is to accumulate riches, and, the government strongly inclines toward the oligarchy.^c

To preserve the equilibrium, the Carthaginians have imagined that it was necessary to grant some advantages to the people, and, at intervals, to send the principal persons of that class to certain cities, with commissions which may enable them to acquire riches. This expedient has hitherto preserved the republic; but, as it has no immediate connexion with the legislation, and contains within itself a secret vice, its success ought only to be attributed to chance: and if ever the people, becoming too rich and too powerful, should separate their interests from those of the other citizens, the subsisting laws will not be sufficient to curb their claims, and the constitution will be destroyed.^d *

^b Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 334.

^c Id. ibid. p. 333.

^d Id. ibid.

* It was not long before the prediction of Aristotle was fulfilled. In the time of the second Punic war, about a

From what has been said, it will be easy to discover the object which the supreme magistrate ought especially to have in view in the exercise of his power, or, which is the same thing, what is, in each constitution, the principle of government. In a monarchy, it is what is honourable and noble; for the prince ought to aspire to render his reign glorious, and to seek glory only by honourable means.^c In a tyranny, it is the safety of the tyrant; for he maintains himself on the throne by the terror which he inspires.^d In an aristocracy, it is virtue; for the leaders of the state can only distinguish themselves by the love of their country.^e In an oligarchy, it is riches; for those who share in the government of the state are chosen from among the rich.^f In a democracy, it is the liberty of each individual citizen;^g but this principle degenerates almost every where into licentiousness, and can only subsist in the government of which a succinct idea is given in the second part of this extract.

hundred years after that philosopher, the republic of Carthage verged towards its ruin; and Polybius considers the authority which the people had usurped as the principal cause of its decline. (Polyb. lib. 9. p. 493.)

^c Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403.

^d Id. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 530.

^e Id. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 372.

^f Id. ibid.

^g Id. ibid.

SECOND PART.

On the best of Constitutions.

IF I were to give instructions to the leader of a colony, I would ascend to first principles.

Every society is an aggregate of families who, in uniting, have no other end but to labour for their common happiness.^k If they are not sufficiently numerous, how shall it be possible to defend them against external attacks? and if their number be too great, how shall they be restrained by laws which may ensure their tranquillity? Aim not to found an empire, but a city, less powerful from the multitude of its inhabitants than from the qualities of its citizens. While law and order carrect on every part of this body, think not of reducing its magnitude; but the moment those who obey are no longer under the eyes of their rulers, be assured that the government has lost a part of its influence, and the state a part of its strength.^l

Let your capital, situated near the sea,^m be neither too large nor too small; and let a healthy situation, a pure air, and salubrious waters, contribute in concert to the preservation of the inhabitants. Let the territory around it suffice

Aristot. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 296; lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 349.

^k Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 4. p. 430.

^m Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 431; ibid. cap. 6.

ⁿ Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 438.

for its wants, and be equally difficult of access to the enemy, and favourable to the communication of your own troops.^o Let it be commanded by a citadel, if the monarchical government be preferred; let different fortified posts protect it from the first fury of the populace, if the aristocracy be made choice of; and let it have no other defence than its ramparts, if a democracy be established.^p Let the walls be strong, and capable of resisting the new machines which have of late years been employed in sieges. Let the streets be some broad and straight, and others narrow and winding; the former will contribute to its embellishment, and the latter be of use in its defence in case of a surprise.^q

Construct, at some distance, a harbour joined to the city by long walls, as is practised in several places in Greece. During war, it will facilitate your receiving succour from your allies; and, during peace, you may keep there that multitude of seamen, foreigners, or newly-enfranchised citizens, whose licentiousness and greediness of gain might corrupt the manners of the people, should you receive them into the city. But let your commerce be confined to the exchange of the superfluities which your territory produces for the necessaries which it denies

^o Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 5. p. 431.

^p Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 438.

^q Id. ibid.

to you; and let your navy be only so far attended to as it may render you feared or courted by the neighbouring nations.*

Let us suppose the colony established, and that it is required to frame laws for its government; fundamental ones will be necessary to form its constitution, and civil to ensure its tranquillity.

You will inform yourself of the different forms of government which have been adopted by our legislators, or imagined by our philosophers. Some of these systems are too imperfect, and others require too great perfection. Have the courage to compare the principles of the former with their effects, and the still greater courage to resist the allurements of the latter. If by the force of your genius you are able to conceive the plan of a faultless constitution, a superior reason should convince you that such a plan is not capable of being carried into execution, or, if by chance it were, that it cannot perhaps be suitable to all states.*

The best government for a people is that which is adapted to its character, its interests, the climate which it inhabits, and a multitude of circumstances that are peculiar to it.

Nature has distinguished, by striking and varied features, the societies scattered over our

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 6. p. 431.

* Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 363.

globe.^c Those of the north of Europe possess courage, but little knowledge or industry ; they must therefore be free, indocile to the yoke of the laws, and incapable to govern the neighbouring nations. The people of Asia possess all the talents of the mind, and all the resources of the arts ; but their extreme inertness and pusillanimity condemn them to servitude. The Greeks, placed between these extremes, and enriched with all the advantages of which they can boast, so unite courage and abilities, the love of the laws and of liberty, that they might be able to conquer and govern the world. And by what a multitude of minute shades has it pleased nature to diversify these principal characters in the same country ! Among the nations of Greece some possess greater intellectual powers, and others more bravery ; there are also some among whom these splendid qualities are found in a just equilibrium.^d

By studying the men of whom he has the conduct, a legislator may discover whether they have received from nature, or whether his institutions can bestow on them, sufficient understanding to feel the value of virtue ; and sufficient strength and ardour of mind to prefer it to every other object. He must reflect, examine, and doubt : a local circumstance may sometimes

^c Id. *ibid.* lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 433. Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. p. 435. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1320.

^d Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 7. p. 433.

alone suffice to remove his uncertainty. If, for example, the soil which his colony is to occupy be susceptible of great cultivation, and insurmountable obstacles will not suffer him to propose any other constitution, let him not hesitate to establish the popular government.* A people addicted to agriculture are better than any other. They will never abandon the labours which require their presence, to crowd into the forum and occupy themselves with those dissensions which idleness foment, and dispute those honours of which they are not ambitious.† The magistrates, more respected, will not be exposed to the caprices of a multitude of artisans and workmen equally insolent and insatiable.

On the other side, the oligarchy naturally establishes itself in those places where it is necessary and possible to maintain a numerous cavalry. As that will then constitute the principal strength of the state, a great number of the citizens must be able to keep horses, and support the expense which their profession will require; and thus the party of the rich will obtain an authority over the poor.‡

Before we proceed further, let us examine what are the rights, and what ought to be the dispositions, of the citizen.

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 370; lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 416.

† Id. ibid. p. 417.

‡ Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 420.

In certain places, to be a citizen, it suffices to be born of a father and mother who were citizens; in others, a great number of degrees are required in the descent: but it thence follows, that the first who have assumed that privilege did not rightfully possess it, and how then could they transmit it to their children? ^a

It is not the inclosure of a city or a state which bestows this privilege on him who inhabits it; for if so, it might be claimed by the slave as well as by the freeman.^b If the slave cannot be a citizen, neither can those who are in the service of others, or who, by exercising the mechanic arts, immediately depend on the favours of the public.^c I know that in most republics, and especially in the extreme democracy, they are considered as such; but in a well-constituted state so noble a privilege ought not to be granted to them.

Who is then the real citizen? He who, free from every other care, dedicates himself solely to the service of his country, and may participate in its offices, dignities, and honours;^d in a word, in the sovereign authority.

It hence follows, that this name agrees but imperfectly to children or decrepit old men, and cannot appertain to artisans, labourers, and

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 340.

^b Id. ibid. cap. 1.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 343.

^d Id. ibid. cap. 1, p. 338 et 339; cap. 4. p. 341.

freedmen.^e It also follows, that there are no citizens but in a republic ;^f though they there share this privilege with persons to whom, according to our principles, it ought to be denied.

In the city which you shall found, every occupation that may divert the attention which is exclusively due to the interests of the country shall be forbidden to the citizen ; and this title shall only be given to those who in their youth shall bear arms in defence of the state, and who in a more advanced age shall instruct it by their knowledge and experience.^g

Thus shall your citizens truly make a part of the city : their essential prerogative shall be, to be admitted to offices of magistracy, to judge in the affairs of individuals, and to vote in the senate or the general assembly ;^h this they shall possess by a fundamental law, because the law is a contractⁱ which secures the rights of the citizens. The first of their duties shall be, to place themselves in a situation to command and to obey ;^k and they shall fulfil it in virtue of their institution, because that alone can inspire them with the virtues of the citizen, or the love of their country.

^e Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 1 et 5 ; lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 435.

^f Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 339.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 435.

^h Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 339.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 348.

^k Id. ibid. cap. 4. p. 342.

These reflexions will enable us to discover that species of equality which the legislator should establish in a city.

None is admitted in an oligarchy: it is supposed, on the contrary, that the difference of fortunes must produce a similar difference in the condition of the citizens: and that consequently preference and distinctions ought only to be granted to riches.¹ In a democracy, the citizens believe themselves all equal, because they are all free; but as they have only a false idea of liberty, the equality which they affect destroys all subordination. Hence the seditions which incessantly ferment in the former of these governments, because in it the multitude consider inequality as an injustice;^m and in the latter, because the rich are hurt by an equality which mortifies them.

Among the advantages which establish or destroy the equality of the citizens, there are three which merit some consideration: liberty, virtue, and riches. I shall not speak of nobility, because it is included in this general division, since it is only the antiquity of riches or virtue in a family.ⁿ

Nothing is so opposite to licentiousness as

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 348; lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 385.

^m Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 3. p. 389.

ⁿ Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 373.

liberty. In all governments individuals are and ought to be in subjection; with this difference, however, that in some places they are merely the slaves of men, and in others only the subjects of the laws. In fact, liberty does not consist in doing whatever we please, as is maintained in certain democracies,* but in only doing what is enjoined by the laws, which secure the independence of each individual; and under this point of view all the citizens may enjoy equal liberty.

I shall not be more diffuse on the article of virtue. As our citizens shall participate in the sovereign authority, they shall be all equally interested to maintain it, and shall deeply imbibe the same love for their country. I shall add, that they will be more or less free in proportion as they shall be more or less virtuous.

As to riches, the greater part of philosophers have not been able to guard against a too natural illusion: they have fixed their attention on the abuse which most offends against their inclinations or their interest, and believed that, by rooting it out, the state would continue its course of itself. Ancient legislators had judged it necessary, in the commencement of a reformation, to divide property equally among all the citizens; and hence some modern legislators,

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 402.

and among others Phaleas of Chalcedon, have proposed the constant equality of fortunes for the basis of their systems.* Some have suggested that the rich should be permitted to marry only with the poor, and that portions should be given with the daughters of the former, but none with those of the latter.—Others have wished that it should not be permitted to any one to increase his possessions beyond a certain value prescribed by the laws. But in limiting the property of each family, it would likewise be necessary to limit the number of children which shall be born in it.^p It is not by prohibitive laws that the fortunes of individuals can be held in a kind of equilibrium: the spirit of disinterestedness must as much as possible be introduced among them, and such regulations adopted, that the good citizens may not wish to increase their possessions, and the bad not be able.^q

Thus a difference in riches may have place among your citizens; but as this difference can occasion none in the distribution of employments and honours, it will not destroy that equality which ought to subsist among them. They shall be equal, because they shall only be subject to the laws; and they shall be equally occupied in the glorious employment of contri-

^p Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 322.

^q Id. ibid. p. 323 et 324.

buting to the tranquillity and happiness of their country.^r

You already perceive, that the government of which I wish to give you an idea will approach a democracy: but it will also participate of the oligarchy; for it will be a mixed government, so combined that it will be difficult to say by what name it ought to be called; and in which, nevertheless, the partisans of the democracy and those of the oligarchy will each find the advantages of the constitution they prefer, without the inconveniences of those which they reject.^s

This happy intermixture will be especially sensible in the distribution of the three powers which constitute a republican state. The first, which is the legislative, shall reside in the general assembly of the nation; the second, or the executive, shall appertain to the magistrates; the third, which is the judicial power, shall be confided to the tribunals of justice.^t

1st. On all questions which relate to peace, war, alliances, the laws, the choice of magistrates, the punishment of crimes against the state, or the rendering of accounts by those who have filled offices of importance, reference shall be made to the judgement of the people, who

^r Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 341; cap. 9. p. 349.

^s Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

^t Id. ibid. cap. 14. p. 379.

are rarely deceived when not disturbed and inflamed by factions. When these have no influence, their votes are free, and not contaminated by vile interest; for it is impossible to corrupt a whole people: they are enlightened; for the meanest citizens have a singular discernment in discovering men distinguished for their abilities and their virtues, and a remarkable facility in forming, combining, and even rectifying their judgements.^u

The decrees of the general assembly shall not be subject to a revision, unless in the case of the condemnation of a criminal. In this instance, if the assembly acquit the accused, the cause shall be finally determinèd; but if it condemn him, it shall be necessary for the sentence to be confirmed, or perhaps annulled, by one of the tribunals of justice.^x

To remove from the general assembly persons of the dregs of the people, who, though they possess no property, nor exercise any mechanical profession, have yet a right to be present in it, in quality of citizens, recourse shall be had to the census, or the known state of the possessions of individuals. In an oligarchy, the census is so high, that only the most opulent citizens are admitted to the assembly of the nation: in certain democracies it does not

^u Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 350 et 351; cap. 15. p. 356. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 381. ^x Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 381.

exist; and in others, is so low as scarcely to exclude any one. You will institute a census, by virtue of which the most numerous and most intelligent and virtuous part of the citizens shall have a right to vote in the public deliberations.^y

And as the census is not a fixed measure; as it varies according to the price of commodities; and as these variations have been frequently sufficient to change the nature of the government; you shall be careful to renew it from time to time, according to occurrences, to the property of individuals, and to the object which you have in view.^z

2d. The decrees of the general assembly should be carried into execution by magistrates, the choice, number, functions, and duration of the office of whom ought to be adapted to the extent of the republic, as well as to the form of the government.

Here, as in almost every part of the subject we treat, a multitude of questions^a suggest themselves, which we shall pass over in silence to proceed to two important points,—I mean the choice and number of these magistrates. ~~It~~ is essential to the oligarchy, that they should be chosen relatively to the census; and to the

^y Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

^z Id. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 395; cap. 8. p. 398.

^a Id. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 381.

democracy, that they should be appointed by lot, without any regard to property.^b You will borrow from the former the mode of election, because it is the most proper to bestow on the state virtuous and enlightened magistrates; and from the example of the latter you will not be restricted by the census, because you will not fear that obscure persons, who are incapable of discharging the duties of the offices of magistracy, should be raised to such dignities. As to the number of magistrates, it will be better to multiply places than to lay too great a burthen on each department.^c

3d. The same intermixture of forms shall be **observed in the regulations** relative to the tribunals of justice. In the oligarchical government, a fine is imposed on the rich who do not acquit themselves of their judicial functions, and no salary appointed for the poor who discharge them. The contrary practice prevails in democracies. You shall induce both these classes of judges to be assiduous, by condemning the former to a pecuniary penalty when they shall absent themselves, and granting a premium for attendance to the latter.^d

After having interested these two orders of citizens in the good of the state, it will be of

^b Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 15. p. 382.

^d Id. ibid. cap. 9. p. 373.

importance to stifle in their hearts that odious rivalry which has been the destruction of the greater part of the republics of Greece; and this again is one of the points of greatest consequence in our system of legislation.

Endeavour not to reconcile claims which the ambition and vices of the two parties will only eternise: the single means to destroy them is to favour in preference the middle estate,* and to render it as powerful as possible.^c Among this class of citizens you will find the purest morals, and greatest regard to propriety of manners. Contented with their lot, they neither experience themselves, nor cause others to feel, that contemptuous pride which riches inspire, nor the low envy which is the offspring of want. Great cities, in which this class is the most numerous, must be less subject to seditions than small ones; and the democracy, in which it is honoured, more durable than the oligarchy, which pays it but little respect.^f

Let the principal part of your colonists be of this respectable order; let your laws render them capable of receiving every honour and distinction; let wise institutions continually

* By this middle estate, Aristotle means those who enjoy a moderate fortune. Compare what he says concerning it with the beginning of the life of Solon, by Plutarch.

^c Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 11. p. 376. Euripid. in Supplic. v. 238.

^f Aristot. ibid.

preserve among them the spirit and the love of mediocrity, and suffer them to have the greatest weight in the assembly. Their preponderance will secure the state from the designing despotism of the rich, who are always unwilling to obey, and the blind despotism of the poor, who are ever incapable to command; and hence it will result, that the greater part of the nation, strongly attached to the government, will exert all its efforts to ensure its duration, which is the first element and best proof of a good constitution.⁵

In every republic a citizen becomes culpable when he becomes too powerful. If your laws are unable to prevent individuals from acquiring too great riches, and collecting around them such a number of partisans as may render them formidable, recourse shall be had to the ostracism, and they shall be banished for a certain number of years.

The ostracism is a violent remedy: it is perhaps unjust, and too often employed to gratify personal vengeance; but it is supported by great examples and authorities, and, in the case specified, is the *only* resource which can save the state. If, nevertheless, a man should arise, who, by the sublimity of his virtues alone, shall attract all hearts to himself, I will grant that

⁵ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 377; lib. 5. cap. 9. p. 400.

conformably to true principles, he ought, instead of being proscribed, to be placed on the throne.^a

We have already said, that your citizens shall be either young men, who shall serve their country by their valour; or aged men, who, after having served it, shall direct it by their counsels. From this latter class shall you choose the priests; for it cannot be decent, that the homage of a free people should be offered to the gods by hands accustomed to mechanic and servile labour.^b

Public repasts shall be instituted; for nothing contributes more to the maintenance of union.^c

All the lands of the state shall be divided into two portions; the one destined to supply the necessities of the state, and the other those of individuals: the former shall be consecrated to the maintenance of religious worship, and the public repasts; and the latter shall be only possessed by those whom I have distinguished by the name of citizens. Both shall be cultivated by slaves brought from different nations.^d

After having regulated the form of government, you shall prepare a body of civil laws, all of which shall have a proper relation to the fundamental, and tend to bind and strengthen them.

One of the most essential will be that which

^a Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 354; cap. 17. p. 361.

^b Id. ibid. lib. 7. cap. 9. p. 436.

regards marriages. The couples who unite shall not be of an age too disproportionate,^m as nothing can more certainly sow the seeds of dissension and disgust. They shall neither be too young nor too old, as nothing contributes more than such unions to the degeneracy of the human race. Let the girls marry at about the age of eighteen, and the men at thirty-seven, or nearly that age;ⁿ let their marriage be celebrated about the time of the winter solstice;^o* let them be permitted to expose their children, when they are born with too feeble a constitution, or other too manifest defects; they shall also be permitted to expose them, to prevent a too great excess of population. If this idea be repugnant to the character of the nation, fix at least the number of children in each family; and if the parents shall transgress the law, let it be ordained that the mother shall destroy the fruit of her body before it shall have received the principles of life and sensation. Severely proscribe adultery, and let the most rigorous punishments stamp ignominy on those who shall dishonour the marriage union.^p

Aristotle afterwards enlarges on the manner

^m Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 16. p. 445.

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 446.

^o Id. ibid.

* M. Vargentin, in a memoir presented to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, in 1772, has shown, from observations made during the course of fourteen years, that more children are born in the month of September than in any other month of the year. (Gazette de France, de 28 Août 1772.)

^p Aristot. ibid. p. 447.

in which the citizen should be educated. He takes him in the cradle, and follows him through the different ages of life, the various employments of the republic, and his different relations with society. He treats of the knowledge with which his mind should be enlightened, and the virtues that should be instilled into his soul; and, insensibly unfolding to his eyes the chain of his duties, calls his attention at the same time to the laws which oblige him to fulfil them.*

I have now given some of the reflexions of Aristotle on the best form of government. I have above given a sketch of the republic of Plato † and of the constitutions of Lycurgus ‡ and of Solon. § Other writers, legislators, philosophers, orators, and poets, have published their ideas on this important subject; but it would be insufferably tedious to analyse their different systems, and that endless number of maxims or questions which they have advanced or discussed. We will therefore confine ourselves to the few principles which are common to them all; or which, from their singularity, merit to be selected.

Aristotle is not the only writer who has

* This part of the work is now lost; but it is easy to judge, from the first chapters of the eighth book, of the manner in which Aristotle proceeded in the remainder of his treatise.

† See Chap. LIV.

‡ See Chap. XLV.

given us the eulogium of royalty. The greater part of philosophers have acknowledged the excellence of this government, which they have considered, some relatively to society, and others as it has relation to the general system of nature. The most excellent of constitutions, say the former; would be that in which the supreme authority, confided to a single person, should only be exercised according to laws wisely instituted;^a in which the sovereign, raised above his subjects as much by his understanding and his virtues as by his power,^b should be persuaded that he himself, like the law, only exists for the happiness of his people;^c in which the government should inspire fear and respect, both at home and abroad, not only by the uniformity of its principles, the secrecy of its enterprises, and the promptness of their execution,^d but still more by its integrity and good faith; for the word of the prince should be more to be relied on than the oath of other men.^e

Every thing in nature, say the latter, points to unity. The universe is governed by the Supreme Being,^f the celestial spheres by so many genii; and the kingdoms of the earth, in like manner, should

^a Plut. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301 et 302.

^b Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 56.

^c Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 314.

^d Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321. Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 93.

^e Isocr. ibid. p. 63.

^f Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 333.

be guided by the authority of single sovereigns, who may maintain in their respective states that harmony which reigns throughout all nature. But to discharge the duties of so exalted a station, they should reflect in themselves the virtues of that deity of whom they are the images,¹ and govern their subjects with the tenderness of a father, the careful vigilance of a pastor, and the impartial equity of the law.²

Such are, in part, the duties which the Greeks annex to the regal power; and, as they have almost every where seen princes depart from them, they only consider this government as the model which a legislator ought to propose to himself, to produce only one general will from all the wills of individuals.³ If all the forms of government existed conformable to their true principles, said Plato, the monarchical should be preferred; but, since they are all corrupted, it is best to live under the democracy.⁴

What then is the constitution best adapted to a people extremely jealous of their liberty? The mixed government; that in which royalty, aristocracy, and democracy, are combined by laws which restore the balance of power whenever it inclines too much towards any one of these

¹ Ecphant. ap. Stob. Serm. 16. p. 323 et 324. Diotogen. *ibid.* p. 330.

² Ecphant. *ibid.* p. 334.

³ Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 301. Hippod. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 251.

⁴ Plat. *ibid.* p. 303.

forms.^c As this temperament may be effected in an infinite diversity of modes, hence results that endless variety which is found in the constitutions of nations and the opinions of philosophers.

The latter are much better agreed on the necessity of establishing good laws, on the obedience which they require, and the changes which they ought sometimes to undergo.

As it is not given to any single mortal to maintain order by his changeable will alone, laws are necessary in a monarchy ;^d for, without such a restraint, every government becomes tyrannical.

The expression, that the law is the soul of the state, presents a very just image ; for, in fact, if the law be destroyed, the state becomes only a lifeless body.^e

The laws ought to be clear, precise, relative to the climate,^f and all favourable to virtue.^g They should leave as few cases as possible to the decision of the judges.^h They should be severe, but the judges should never be

^c Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 268. Hippod. ibid. p. 251. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. p. 693. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 327. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 373.

^d Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 268. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 813. Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 276. Bias ap. Pl. in Sept. Sapient. Conviv. t. ii. p. 152.

^e Demosth. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 270.

^f Archyt. ibid.

^g Demosth. Epist. p. 198. Id. in Timocr. p. 784. Stob. p. 270.

^h Aristot. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 513.

so ;¹ because it is better that the guilty should escape than the innocent be condemned : in the former case the judgement is an error, in the latter an impiety.

We have seen states lose in inaction that superiority which they had acquired by victories. This proceeded from the defect of their laws, which had hardened them to endure the labours of war, but not armed them against the sweets of tranquillity. A legislator ought less to bestow his attention on a state of war, which should be transient, than on the virtues which may teach the peaceable citizen neither to fear war nor make an improper use of peace.¹

The multiplicity of laws in a state is a proof of its corruption and decline ; and that from this reason, that the society would be most happy in which any laws whatever should be unnecessary.^m

Some have wished that all laws should be prefaced by an explanation of their motives and spirit. Nothing, say they, can be more useful than to enlighten the obedience of the people, and to subject them by persuasion before they are intimidated by menaces.ⁿ

¹ Isæus ap. Stob. Serm. 46. p. 237.

^k Antiph. ap. Stob. p. 308.

¹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 7. cap. 14. p. 444 ; cap. 15. p. 445.

^m Arcesil. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 248. Isocr. Arcop. t. i. p. 331. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 27.

ⁿ Plat. de Leg. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 719.

Others consider ignominy as the most effectual punishment. When crimes may be redeemed by money, men become accustomed to affix a great value to wealth, and to disregard guilt.^o

The more laws are excellent, the more dangerous it is to shake off their yoke. It would be better for a state to have bad laws which should be obeyed, than good ones which should remain without effect.^p

Nothing is so dangerous likewise as to make frequent changes in the laws. Among the Locrians,^q he who advised to abrogate or alter any law, must make the proposal with a halter round his neck, and forfeit his life if his advice were disapproved.* Among the same Locrians it is not permitted to torture and elude the laws by forced interpretations. If they are equivocal, and one of the parties thinks himself aggrieved by the explanation given of them by the magistrate, he may cite him before a tribunal consisting of a thousand judges. Both must appear with the cord round their neck, and death must be the punishment of him whose interpretation is rejected.^r Other legislators have all declared, that the laws ought ~~not~~ to be changed but with

^o Archyt. ap. Stob. Serm. 41. p. 269.

^p Thucyd. lib. 3. cap. 37. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. p. 372.

^q Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 280. Demosth. in Timoc. p. 794.

* See note IX. at the end of the volume.

^r Polyb. lib. 12. p. 661.

the utmost circumspection, and in cases of extreme necessity.

But what are the solid foundations of the tranquillity and happiness of states? Not the laws which regulate their constitution, or which increase their powers, but the institutions which form the citizens, and give activity to their minds; not the laws which dispense rewards and punishments, but the public voice when it makes an exact distribution of contempt and esteem.* Such is the unanimous decision of legislators and philosophers, of all the Greeks, and perhaps of all nations. When the nature, advantages, and inconveniences, of the different forms of government are carefully investigated, we shall find that the difference in the manners of a people is sufficient to destroy the best of constitutions, or to rectify the most defective.

The laws, impotent in themselves, borrow their powers solely from manners, which are as much above them as virtue is above probity. In consequence of the manners of a people is it that what is good and virtuous is preferred to what is only just, and what is just to what is merely useful. They restrain the citizen by the force of the public opinion, while the laws only terrify him by the dread of punishment.

* Plat. de Leg. lib. 13, t. ii. p. 697. Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 331.

† Hippod. ap. Stob. p. 249.

Under the empire of manners the minds of men will display elevation of sentiment, distrust of their own powers, and decency and simplicity in their actions. A certain modesty will penetrate them with a sacred reverence for the gods, the laws, the magistrates, the paternal power, the wisdom of aged persons,^a and for themselves still more than for all the rest.^x

Hence results in every government the indispensable necessity of attending to the education of children,^y as a most essential object, and training them up in the spirit and love of the constitution, in the simplicity of ancient times, in a word, in the principles which ought ever after to regulate their virtues, their opinions, their sentiments, and their behaviour. All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depended on the education given to youth;^z and from their reflexions we may lay it down as an evident principle, that education, the laws, and manners, ought never to contradict each other.^a Another principle no less certain is, that in all states the manners of the people are conformable to those of their governors.^b

^a Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 698 et 701.

^x Democr. ap. Stob. Serm. 44. p. 310.

^y Plut. in Euthyphr. t. i. p. 2. Aristot. de Leg. lib. 8 cap. 1. p. 49.

^z Diogen. ap. Stob. p. 251.

^a Hippod. ibid. p. 249.

^b Isocr. ad Nicocl. t. i. p. 68. Æschin. in Tim. p. 290.

Zaleucus and Charondas, not satisfied with directing to the maintenance of manners the greater part of the laws which they gave, the former to the Locrians of Italy,* and the latter to several states of Sicily, have placed, at the head of their respective codes,^c a chain of maxims which may be considered as the foundations of morality. I shall here give some of them, more clearly to show in what point of view legislation was formerly considered.

All the citizens, says Zaleucus,^d should first be firmly persuaded of the existence of the gods. The order and beauty of the universe must soon convince them, that it is not the effect of blind chance, nor the work of man. The gods are to be adored, because they are the authors of all real good. Every one, therefore, should prepare and purify his soul: for the Divine Being is not honoured by the worship of the wicked man, nor delighted with pompous sacrifices and magnificent festivals: his approbation can only be obtained by good works, by a virtue constant in its principles and its effects, and a firm resolution to prefer justice and poverty to injustice and ignominy.

^b According to Timæus, Zaleucus did not give laws to the Locrians (Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. iii. p. 141. id. ad Attic. lib. 6. ep. 1. t. viii. p. 261); but he contradicted all antiquity.

^c Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 6. t. iii. p. 141.

^d Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 279; et ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 84.

If, among the inhabitants of this city, men, women, citizens, or sojourners, there should be found any who relish not these truths, and who are naturally inclined to evil, let them remember that nothing can save the guilty mortal from the vengeance of the gods; and let them incessantly place before their eyes the final moment of their lives; that moment in which they will reflect with so much regret and remorse on the evil which they have done, and the good which they have neglected to do.

Every citizen, therefore, in all his actions, should continually have the hour of death present to his mind; and whenever the malevolent *dæmon* shall attempt to influence him to evil, let him fly to the temples, to the feet of the altars, to the sacred places, and implore the assistance of the gods. Let him likewise have recourse to wise and good men, who will support his weakness by a representation of the rewards destined to virtue, and the woes which are the consequence of injustice.

Reverence your parents, your laws, your magistrates. Love your country, and desire not to change it for another; for that would be the beginning of treason. Speak no evil of any one. The guardians of the laws should watch over and restrain offenders; but, before they punish them, they should endeavour to reclaim

Let the magistrates, in their judgements, forget their individual connexions and their private enmities. Slaves may be subjected by fear, but freemen ought only to obey justice.

In all your designs and actions, says Charondas,^c begin by imploring the assistance of the gods, who are the authors of all things: to obtain it, abstain from evil; for there is no society between God and the unjust man.

Let the same affection reign between individual citizens and those who are at the head of the government, as between children and their parents.

Sacrifice your life for your country, and be persuaded that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy. Let the married pair mutually hold sacred the faith they have vowed to each other.

The dead are not to be honoured by tears and immoderate grief, but by the remembrance of their virtues, and the offerings annually made at their tombs.

Let young persons show a proper deference to the advice of the aged, who are attentive to deserve reverence by the regularity of their lives. If the latter divest themselves of modesty, they will introduce into the state the contempt of shame, and all its consequent vices.

^c Charond. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 289.

Detest infamy and falsehood; love virtue; frequent the company of those who practise it; and aspire to the highest perfection, by becoming the truly good and virtuous man. Fly to the succour of the oppressed citizen; relieve the wretchedness of the poor, provided it be not the fruit of idleness. Despise him who renders himself the slave of his riches, and stigmatise with ignominy the citizen who erects for himself a more magnificent dwelling than the public edifices. Let your language be regulated by decency; restrain your anger, and utter not imprecations even against those who have done you an injury.

Let all the citizens continually have these precepts present to their memory; and, on the days of the festivals, let them be recited aloud during the public entertainments, that they may

CHAP. LXIII.

Dionysius, King of Syracuse, at Corinth. Exploits of Timoleon.

ON our return to Athens, after an absence of eleven years, we seemed, so to speak, to arrive there for the first time. Death had deprived us of many of our friends and acquaintances; whole families had disappeared, and others arisen in their place; we were received like strangers in houses where we had before been intimate; every where we found the same stage, but other actors.

The forum incessantly resounded with complaints against Philip, which were a subject of alarm to some, but heard with indifference by others.^m Demosthenes had not long before accused Æschines of having taken bribes of Philip, when he was sent into Macedonia to conclude the late peace; and as Æschines had extolled the modesty of the ancient orators, who, when they harangued the people, avoided all extravagant gestures; No, no, exclaimed Demosthenes, it is not in the assembly of the

^m Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 321 et 327.

people, but when we are sent on an embassy, that we ought to hide our hands under our cloaks." This stroke of pleasantry was received with applause; the accusation, however, had no success.

We were for some time overwhelmed with questions concerning Egypt and Persia. I afterwards resumed my former researches. One day, as I crossed the forum, I saw a great number of inquirers after news going and coming in great agitation, and seemingly unable sufficiently to express their surprise. I drew near to them, and inquired what had happened.—I was answered, Dionysius is at Corinth.—What Dionysius?—The king of Syracuse, once so powerful and formidable. Timoleon has driven him from the throne, and obliged him to embark on board a galley, which has brought him to Corinth.* He has arrived* without escort, friends, or relations; he has lost every thing except the memory of what he was.

This news was soon after confirmed to me by Euryalus, whom I found at the house of Apollodorus. He was a Corinthian with whom I was intimate, and who had formerly had connexions with Dionysius. He was to return to Corinth some months after, and I resolved to

* Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 332.

* Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242. Justin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 464.

* The year 343 before Christ.

accompany him, to contemplate at leisure one of the most singular phænomena of Fortune.

On our arrival in that city, we found at the door of a tavern a fat man,^p in a mean dress, to whom the master of the house seemed to give, from pity, the wine that had been left in some bottles: some women of dissolute life attacked him with gross jokes, at which he laughed, and answered them in the same style; and his pleasantries diverted the populace who were gathered round him.^q

Euryalus proposed to me, I know not under what pretext, to alight from our carriage, and not to leave this man. We followed him to a place where some women, who were to sing in the choruses at an approaching festival, were exercised previous to their appearance in public. He made them repeat their parts, directed them in the management of their voices, and disputed with them on the manner in which certain passages ought to be given.^r He thence went to a perfumer's, where we unexpectedly saw the philosopher Diogenes and the musician Aristoxenus,* who had arrived at Corinth a few days before. The former, approaching the stranger, said to him: You do not deserve what

^p Justin. lib. 21. cap. 2.

^q Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

^r Id. *ibid.*

* No doubt the same who was the author of a treatise on music, still extant, and inserted in the collection of Meibomius.

has befallen you.—Do you then compassionate my misfortunes? replied the unhappy man. I thank you for your kindness.—I compassionate thy misfortunes! replied Diogenes; thou art much mistaken, vile slave! thou oughtest to live and die like thy father, a prey to all the terrors which tyrants should feel; and my indignation rises to see thee in a city where thou mayest yet, without fear, enjoy some pleasures.

What, said I to Euryalus, with the utmost astonishment, is this the king of Syracuse? It is, replied he, but he does not know me; his sight is impaired by excessive drinking: let us listen to the remainder of the conversation. Dionysius supported his part in it with equal wit and moderation. Aristoxenus asked him the reason of the disgrace of Plato. A tyrant, answered he, is besieged by every kind of evil, and the most dangerous is, that his friends will conceal from him the truth. I listened to their advice, and obliged Plato to leave my court. What was the consequence? I was king of Syracuse, and now am a schoolmaster at Corinth.^v In fact, we more than once saw him in a cross-way, teaching children the principles of grammar.^x

^v Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

^w Aristot. et Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Justin. lib. 21. cap. 2.

^x Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 243.

^y Cicero Tuscul. lib. 3. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 310. Id. ad Famil. lib. 9. epist. 18. t. vii. p. 317. Justin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Lucian. Somn. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 737. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 9. Extern. N° 6.

The same motive which had induced me to go to Corinth daily brought thither a number of strangers; some of whom, at the sight of this unhappy prince, manifested emotions of pity;^y but the greater part dwelt with pleasure on a spectacle which the circumstances of the times rendered more interesting. As Philip seemed to be on the point of enslaving Greece, they satiated on the king of Syracuse that hatred which they had conceived against the king of Macedon. The instructive example of a tyrant suddenly plunged into the lowest humiliation was soon the only consolation of those haughty republicans. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians returned no other answer to the menaces of Philip than these energetic words, *Dionysius is at Corinth.*^z

We conversed several times with Dionysius. He freely confessed his faults, no doubt because it had cost him little to commit them. Euryalus wished to know what he thought of the homage that had been rendered him at Syracuse. I entertained at my court, answered he, a number of sophists and poets; I had not esteem for them, but they acquired me a great character.^a My courtiers perceived that my sight began to grow weak, and they became, as I may say, totally blind. They could no longer see any

^y Plut. in Tim. t. i. p. 242.

^z Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 8.

^a Plat. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.

thing: when they met in my presence, they ran one against the other; and at our entertainments I was obliged to guide their hands, with which they seemed to feel about the table.^b And were you not offended at this meanness? said Euryalus. Sometimes, replied Dionysius; but it is so pleasing to pardon!

At this moment a Corinthian, who affected to be witty, and whose honesty was suspected, appeared at the threshold of the door, and, to show that he had not a poniard concealed under his robe, shook it several times, as those do who are admitted into the presence of tyrants. That ceremony, said Dionysius to him, would be better placed were you to observe it when you leave us.^c

A short time after, another person came in, and fatigued him with his importunities. Dionysius whispered us, with a sigh: Happy are those who have learned to suffer from their childhood!^d

Similar insults were every moment repeated, and, indeed, he himself appeared to seek them. He passed his life in taverns, in the streets, and among the lowest of the people, whom he had made the companions of his pleasures. It was easy at once to discern in him the low propen-

^b Theophr. ap. Athen. lib. 10. p. 439. Plut. de Adul. t. ii. p. 53.

^c Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 18. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.

^d Stob. Sermon. 110. p. 582.

sities which he had received from nature, and the elevated sentiments which he derived from his former condition. He spoke like a wise man but acted like a fool. I was unable to explain the mystery of his conduct. A Syracusan who had observed him with attention said to me: His mind is too feeble and trivial for him to behave with greater propriety in adversity than in prosperity; and he is besides sensible that the sight of a tyrant, even though he is dethroned, excites distrust and fear in free citizens. Should he prefer obscurity to that meanness by which he now degrades himself, his tranquillity would be suspected by the Corinthians, who favoured the revolt of Sicily. He fears lest they should imagine there is reason to fear him, and saves himself from their hatred by courting their contempt.*

The latter he had completely acquired during my stay at Corinth, and afterwards amply merited that of all Greece. Whether from wretchedness or derangement of mind, he joined a company of the priests of Cybele, and went with them from town to town, with a tympanum in his hand, singing and dancing round the image of the goddess, and begging from the by-standers a trifling alms.^f

Before he acted a part in these low scenes, he

* Justin. lib. 21. cap. 5. Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 242.

^f Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 8. Athen. lib. 12. cap. 11. p. 541. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 10. p. 1824.

had obtained permission to leave Corinth, and travel through Greece. The king of Macedon received him with distinction ; and, in their first conversation, Philip asked him, how it had happened that he had lost that kingdom of which his father had kept possession for so long a time? " Because," replied he, " I inherited the power of my father, but not his fortune."^s A Corinthian had before put to him the same question, and he had then answered : " When my father ascended the throne, the people were tired of the democracy ; when they drove me from it, they were weary of tyranny."^h One day, at the table of the king of Macedon, the conversation turned on the poetry of Dionysius the Elder ; when Philip asked him, what time his father could find to compose so great a number of works? " That," replied he, " which you and I pass here in drinking."ⁱ

His vices twice plunged him into misfortunes, and his fate, each time, raised up against him one of the greatest men that the present age has produced ; Dion in the first instance, and afterwards Timoleon. I shall here give some account of the latter, and relate what I learned concerning him during the last years of my stay in Greece.

We have seen above,* that, after the death

^s *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 60.*

^h *Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 176.* ⁱ *Id. in Timol. t. i. p. 243.*

* See Chap. IX. Vol. II. page 162.

of his brother, Timoleon had, for some time, left Corinth, and for ever renounced public affairs. He had passed near twenty years in this voluntary exile,^k when the people of Syracuse, no longer able to resist their tyrants, implored the aid of the Corinthians, from whom they derived their origin. The latter resolved to levy troops; but as they hesitated concerning the choice of a general, some unknown person by chance mentioned Timoleon, and his name was immediately re-echoed with universal acclamation.^l The prosecution formerly commenced against him had only been suspended, and the judges now resolved that the decision should be referred to himself. Timoleon, said they to him, according to the manner in which you conduct yourself on the present occasion, we shall conclude that you have put to death a brother or a tyrant.^m

The Syracusans believed themselves destitute of all resource. Icetas, the chief of the Leontines, whose succour they had demanded, thought only of enslaving them, and had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. Master of Syracuse, he held Dionysius besieged in the citadel, and the fleet of Carthage cruised near the harbour to intercept that of Corinth. In the interior parts of the island, a fatal experience

^k Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 238.

^l Id. ibid. p. 237.

^m Id. ibid. p. 238. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 459.

had taught the Grecian cities to distrust all who were eager to offer them aid.^a

Timoleon set sail with ten galleys and a small number of soldiers,^b and, escaping the Carthaginian fleet, arrived in Italy, and thence proceeded to Tauromenium in Sicily. Between that city and Syracuse is the city of Adranum, some of the inhabitants of which had invited Icetas, and others Timoleon; who both marched at ~~the~~ same time, the former at the head of five thousand men, and the latter with twelve hundred. At the distance of thirty stadia from Adranum, Timoleon learned that the troops of Icetas had arrived, and were preparing to encamp around the city. Immediately he hastened his march, and fell on them with such impetuosity, and in such good order, that they fled without resistance, leaving him master of their camp, their baggage, and a great number of prisoners.

This success immediately changed the disposition of men's minds, and the face of affairs. The revolution was so rapid, that Timoleon, within fifty days after his arrival in Sicily, saw the different states of that island court his alliance, some of the tyrants join their forces to his,^c and Dionysius himself surrender at discretion, and give up to him the citadel of Syracuse, with the treasures and troops which he had collected.

^a Plut. in. Timol. t. i. p. 241. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 461.

^b Plut. ibid. p. 239. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 462.

^c Plut. ibid. p. 241 et 243. Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 463.

It is not my intention minutely to describe all the circumstances of this glorious expedition¹; I shall only say, that if Timoleon, while yet young, showed in battle the maturity of an advanced age, he exhibited in the decline of life all the warmth and activity of youth;² that he displayed all the talents and qualities of a great general; that, at the head of a small number of troops, ~~he~~ delivered Sicily from the tyrants by which it was oppressed, and defended it against a power still more formidable, that wished to enslave it; that, with six thousand men, he put to flight an army of seventy thousand Carthaginians;³ and, in a word, that his plans were formed with so much wisdom, that he appeared to be the master of fortune, and to dispose at pleasure of events.

But the glory of Timoleon consists not in this continuance of rapid success, which he himself attributed to fortune, and the lustre of which he transferred to his country;⁴ it is founded on a succession of conquests more worthy of the gratitude of men.

The sword had destroyed one part of the inhabitants of Sicily, and great numbers of those who remained, flying from the oppression of their tyrants, were dispersed throughout Greece, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and on the coasts of Asia. Corinth, animated with the same

¹ Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 237.

² Id. ibid. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 471.

³ Plut. ibid. p. 250 et 253.

spirit as her general, engaged them by her deputies to return to their country. She supplied them with ships, leaders, an escort, and, on their arrival in Sicily, allotted lands to be divided among them. At the same time heralds proclaimed, on the part of the Corinthians, at the solemn games of Greece, that they acknowledged the independence of Syracuse and of all Sicily.*

At these shouts of liberty, which resounded likewise throughout all Italy, six thousand men repaired to Syracuse; some to enjoy there the rights of citizens, and others to be distributed in the interior parts of the island.^u

The form of government had recently undergone frequent revolutions,* and the laws had lost their vigour. The latter had been drawn up for the Syracusans by an assembly of enlightened men, at the head of whom was that Diocles, to whose memory a temple was erected, which the Elder Dionysius caused to be demolished. This severe legislator had forbidden any person to appear with arms in the forum, under pain of death. Some time after, the enemy having made an incursion into the environs of Syracuse, he left his house with a sword in his hand; and learning at the same time that there was a tumult in the forum, he

* Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 247. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 472.

^u Plut. *ibid.* Diod. *ibid.* p. 473; lib. 19. p. 652.

* Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 390.

immediately ran thither, without thinking of the weapon he carried with him; on which some person exclaimed, You have abrogated your own law. Say rather I have confirmed it, answered he, and instantly plunged his sword into his breast.^y

His laws established the democracy; but, to correct the vices of this government, they punished with rigour every species of injustice, and, that nothing might be left to the caprice of judges, provided as much as possible a decision for each contestation, and a punishment for every offence. Yet, besides that they are written in old language, their extreme precision occasions obscurity. Timoleon revised them, in conjunction with Cephalaus and Dionysius, two Corinthians, whom he had invited to assist him.^z Those which related to individuals were preserved, with explanations that might determine their meaning; those that regarded the constitution were amended, and the licentiousness of the people was repressed without detriment to their liberty. To ensure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty, Timoleon invited them to destroy all those citadels which had become the haunts of tyrants.^a

The powerful republic of Carthage forced to sue for peace to the Syracusans; the oppressors

^y Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 162.

^z Plut. in Timol. p. 248. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 263; lib. 16. p. 473.

^a Nep. in Timol. cap. 3.

of Sicily successively extirpated; her cities restored to their former splendor; her fields covered with harvests; a flourishing commerce, concord, and happiness: such were the benefits which Timoleon diffused over that beautiful country,^b and such the fruits which he himself gathered.

Having voluntarily returned to the condition of a private individual, he saw the respect paid to him increase from day to day. The people of Syracuse obliged him to accept in their city a distinguished house, and an agreeable retreat in the environs, where he passed his days in peace with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. He there incessantly received the tribute of esteem and gratitude which was paid to him by the Syracusans, who considered him as their second founder. Whatever treaties or regulations were made throughout Sicily, he was resorted to from every place, that they might be submitted to his judgement and experience, and nothing was done without his approbation.^c

In the latter part of his life he lost his sight.^d The Syracusans, more affected at his misfortune than he was himself, redoubled their respect and attention. They brought foreigners who visited their country to see him: Behold, said

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 473.

^c Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253.

^d Nep. in Timol. cap. 4.

they, our benefactor and our father ! He has preferred to the splendid triumph, which awaited him at Corinth, to the glory which he would have acquired in Greece, the pleasure of living in the midst of his children.^c Timoleon returned to the eulogiums they lavished on him only this modest answer : “ The gods had decreed to save Sicily : I thank them that they chose me to be ~~the~~ instrument of their goodness.”^f

The love of the Syracusans for their deliverer was still more conspicuous when any important question was to be discussed in the general assembly. Deputies were sent to request his presence ; he came in a chariot ; and the moment he appeared all the people saluted him with loud shouts. Timoleon saluted them in return ; and, after the transports of joy and affection had subsided, informed himself of the subject of their deliberations, and gave his opinion, which the whole assembly adopted in their suffrages. On his return he again crossed the forum, followed by the same acclamations till he was out of sight.^g

The Syracusans never believed they had sufficiently expressed their gratitude. They decreed that his birth-day should be celebrated as a festival, and that they should request a general from Corinth whenever they were engaged in a war with a foreign nation.^h

^c Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 254.

^f Nep. in Timol. cap 4.

^g Plut. *ibid.*

^h *Id.* *ibid.* Nep. in Timol. cap. 5.

At his death, the public grief only found consolation in the honours bestowed on his memory. Time was allowed for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to repair to Syracuse to be present at the funeral ceremonies. Youths, chosen by lot, bore on their shoulders the body, extended on a couch richly ornamented. An innumerable multitude of men and women followed, crowned with flowers, habited in white robes, and making the air resound with the name and praises of Timoleon ; but their groans and tears still more evinced their affection and their grief.

When the body was laid on the funeral pile, a herald read with a loud voice the following decree: " The people of Syracuse, in gratitude to Timoleon, who destroyed their tyrants, conquered the barbarians, restored several great cities, and gave laws to the Sicilians, have resolved to consecrate two hundred minæ to his funeral, and annually to honour his memory by musical competitions, horse-races, and gymnastic games."ⁱ

Other generals have signalised themselves by more splendid conquests, but none ever performed actions so truly great. He undertook the war to effect the deliverance of Sicily, and, when he had completed his design, had no other ambition than to be beloved.

He caused the sovereign authority, while he was invested with it to be universally respected and honoured; and, when he had resigned it, obeyed and revered it even more than the other citizens. One day, in full assembly, two orators dared to accuse him of malversation in the employments he had held; and when the people rose against them with indignation, Timoleon restrained them, saying: "I have only undergone so many labours, and braved such various dangers, to enable the meanest citizen to defend the laws, and freely to declare his opinion."^{*}

He exercised over all hearts an absolute dominion, because he was mild, modest, simple, disinterested, and, above all, unimpeachably just. So many virtues disarmed those who might have envied the splendor of his actions, and the superiority of his abilities. Timoleon experienced that, after having rendered great services to a nation, it is sufficient to leave it to itself to become the object of its adoration.

^{*} Plut. in Timol. t. i. p. 253. Nep. in Timol. cap. 5.

CHAP. LXIV.

Continuation of the Library.—Physics. Natural History. Genii.

ON my return from Corinth, I again visited Euclid. A part of his library still remained, which I wished to examine; and I found him in it, in company with Meton and Anaxarchus. The former was of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of the same family as the celebrated Empedocles; the latter was of Abdera in Thrace, and of the school of Democritus: each had a book in his hand, and appeared absorbed in profound meditation.

Euclid showed me several treatises on animals, plants, and fossils. I am not very rich, said he, in these kinds of works; for a taste for natural history, and physics, properly so called, has only been introduced among us within these few years. Not but several men of genius have formerly employed themselves in researches into nature. I have some time ago shown you their works; and you recollect, no doubt, that discourse in which the high-priest of Ceres gave you a succinct idea of their systems.* You

* See CHAP. XXX. Vol. III. p. 146.

then learned that they ought to obtain a knowledge of causes rather than effects, of the matter of beings rather than their forms.¹

Socrates directed philosophy towards public utility: and his disciples, after his example, dedicated their inquiries to the study of man.^m That of the rest of the universe, suspended during near a century, and resumed in our time, is continued with more propriety and discernment. Those general questions which were the subject of dispute among the ancient philosophers are indeed discussed; but endeavours are made at the same time to ascend from effects to causes, and from the known to the unknown.ⁿ With this view our philosophers descend more to particulars, and begin to collect and compare facts.

An essential defect formerly retarded the progress of science: sufficient attention was not paid to explain the essence of each body in particular,^o nor to define the terms employed, and this negligence had at last inspired such disgust, that the study of natural philosophy was abandoned precisely at the moment when the art of definition began, that is to say, in the time of Socrates.^p

¹ Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 329. Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 967 et 968.

^m Id. de Part. Anim. p. 971.

ⁿ Id. ibid. p. 967. Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 315.

^o Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 329.

^p Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 971. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 848.

At these words Anaxarchus and Meton approached us. Has not Democritus, said the former, given accurate definitions? And did not Empedocles, said the latter, pay particular attention to the analysis of bodies? More frequently than the other philosophers, answered Euclid, but not so often as they should have done.¹ The conversation then became more animated; Euclid warmly defended the doctrine of Aristotle his friend, and Anaxarchus and Meton that of their countrymen. The latter more than once accused Aristotle of having misrepresented in his works the systems of the ancients, that he might combat them with more advantage.² Meton went still further; he affirmed that Aristotle, Plato, and even Socrates himself, had borrowed from the writings of the Pythagoreans of Italy and Sicily almost all that they had taught concerning nature, politics, and morals. It was in those happy countries, added he, that philosophy received its birth, and to Pythagoras are mankind indebted for that benefit.³

I entertain the most profound veneration for that great man, answered Euclid; but since he and other philosophers have appropriated to themselves, with acknowledgment, the riches

¹ Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970.

² Porphy. Vit. Pythag. § 53. p. 49. Bruck. Histor. Philos. Dissert. Prælim. p. 14; et lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 464. Moshem. ad Cudw. cap. 1. § 7. not. y.

³ Porphy. Vit. Pythag. n. 40. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

of Egypt, the East, and all the nations which we name barbarians,¹ have not we the same right to convey them into Greece? Let us mutually pardon each other these thefts, and have the courage to render to my friend the justice which he merits. I have frequently heard him say, that opinions should be discussed with the equity of an impartial judge:² if he has offended against this rule, I condemn him. He does not always name the authors from whom he has derived his knowledge; because he has declared in general that his design was to profit by them.³ He cites them more frequently when he refutes them, because the celebrity of their names was but too capable to give credit to the errors which he wished to destroy.

Aristotle has availed himself of the treasures of knowledge accumulated by your labours and ours; he will increase them by his own, and, transmitting them to posterity, will erect the most noble of monuments, not to the vanity of an individual, but to the glory of all the schools of Greece.

I was acquainted with him at the Academy; our friendship for each other was strengthened by time; and, since he has left Athens, I have maintained with him an unintermitting corre-

¹ Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 2. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 355. Bruck. Hist. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 47.

² Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. t. i. p. 446.

³ Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 144.

spondence. You can only judge of him from the small number of works which he has published: inform yourself of the extensive nature of his comprehensive plans, and then censure, if you can dare to do it, his errors and omissions.

Nature, who is silent to the greater part of men, early informed him that she had chosen him for her confident and interpreter. I shall not tell you that, born with the most happy dispositions, he made an uncommonly rapid progress in the sciences and arts; that in his early youth he devoured the works of the philosophers, and relaxed his mind after his graver studies with the writings of the poets; and that he made the knowledge of every age and country his own:^y this would be to praise him as the generality of great men are praised. What he is distinguished by is the taste and genius of observation; the faculty of uniting in his researches the most surprising activity with the most tenacious constancy; and that piercing discernment, that extraordinary sagacity, which conducts him instantaneously to consequences, and almost inclines us to believe that his mind acts rather by instinct than by reflexion: it is, in a word, the conception that the whole of what art and nature present to our eyes is only an immense succession of facts, appertaining all to one common chain, and frequently too similar not to be easily con-

^y Annon. Vit. Aristot.

founder, and too different not to require to be distinguished. Hence the course he has taken to secure his progress by doubt;² to enlighten it by the frequent use of definitions, divisions, and subdivisions; and not to advance toward the abode of truth till he has explored the confines of the enclosure in which she is shut up.

Such is the method which he will follow in the execution of a plan that any other than himself would fear to attempt; I mean the general and particular history of nature. He will begin from the great and stupendous masses; the origin or eternity of the world;³ the causes, principles, and essence of beings;^b the nature, and reciprocal action of the elements; and the composition and dissolution of bodies.^c In this work he will revive and discuss the questions concerning infinity, motion, a vacuum, space, and time.^d

He will describe, in whole or in part, whatever exists or passes in the heavens, and in the interior parts, or on the surface of our globe: in the heavens, the meteors,^e the distances and revolutions of the planets, the nature of the

² Aristoph. *Metaph.* lib. 3. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 853.

³ Id. *de Cœl.* lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 432.

^b Id. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 1 et 2. t. i. p. 315, &c. Id. *Metaph.* t. ii. p. 838.

^c Id. *de Gener. et Corrupt.* t. i. p. 493, &c. *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 5. § 25.

^d Aristot. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 3, 4, &c.

^e Id. *Meteor.* t. i. p. 528.

stars, and the spheres to which they are attached;^f in the bosom of the earth, fossils, minerals,^g and the violent concussions which overturn the globe;^h and, on its surface, the seas, rivers,ⁱ plants,^k and animals.^l

As man is subject to an infinity of necessities and duties, he will consider whatever relates to him. He will treat of the anatomy of the human body,^m the nature and faculties of the soul,ⁿ the objects and organs of sensation,^o the rules proper to guide the most subtle operations of the mind,^p and the most secret emotions of the heart;^q and on laws,^r governments,^s sciences, and arts.^t On all these interesting objects the historian will unite his own judgement and experience to those of preceding ages: and, conformably to the practice of many philosophers,

^f Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 2. t. i. p. 452. Id. Astronom. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 26.

^g Id. Meteor. lib. 3. cap. 6. t. i. p. 583.

^h Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 566.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 2. p. 551, &c.

^k Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. § 25.

^l Aristot. Hist. Anim. Id. de Animal. Incess. Part. Gener. t. i. Diog. Laërt. ibid.

^m Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 768, &c. Diog. Laërt. ibid.

ⁿ Aristot. de Anim. t. i. p. 616. De Mem. ibid. p. 678.

^o Id. de Sens. ibid. p. 662.

^p Id. Categ. Analyt. Topic. t. i. p. 14, &c. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 23 et 24.

^q Aristot. de Mor. Magn. Mor. de Virt. et Vit. t. ii. p. 3, &c.

^r Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 26.

^s Aristot. de Rep. t. ii. p. 296.

^t Diog. Laërt. ibid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. lib. 3. cap. 6 et 7. t. ii. p. 107, &c.

continually applying physics to morals, will increase our knowledge to render us more happy.

Such is the plan of Aristotle, as far as I have been able to understand it from his conversations and his letters: but I know not whether he will be able to follow the order which I have here pointed out. And why should he not? said I. Because, answered he, certain subjects require preliminary illustrations. Without leaving his closet, in which he has collected a most valuable library,^a he will be able to treat on a great number of subjects; but when he shall come to give the description and history of all the animals scattered over the earth, what a long and laborious course of observations will be required to complete such a work! Yet his courage is only rendered more ardent by obstacles; and, besides the materials of which he is already in possession, he founds very reasonable hopes on the patronage of Philip, whose esteem he has deservedly acquired;^b and on that of Alexander, whose education he has undertaken to superintend. If it be true, as is reported, that this young prince has already manifested a lively taste for the sciences,^c we may hope that when he comes to the throne

^a Strab. lib. 13. p. 608. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. lib. 3. cap. 17.

^b Aul. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 3. Ammon. Vit. Aristot. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 19.

^c Plut. de Fort. Alexand. t. ii. p. 327, 328, &c.

he will enable his tutor to proceed successfully in his design.^a

Scarcely had Euclid ended, when Anaxarchus thus replied: I might attribute to Democritus the same plan that you have ascribed to Aristotle. I here see the numberless works which he has published on nature, and the different parts of the universe; on animals, plants, the soul of man, his senses, duties, and virtues; on medicine, anatomy, agriculture, logic, geometry, astronomy, geography, and, I will add, on music and poetry.^b I shall not speak of that enchanting style by which he has diffused graces over the most abstract subjects.^c He is universally allowed to merit the first rank among those natural philosophers who have referred effects to causes. In his writings we admire a succession of novel ideas, sometimes too bold, but often happy. You know that, after the example of Leucippus, his master, whose system he brought to perfection,^d he admitted a vacuum, atoms, and vortices; that he considered the moon as another earth, covered with inhabitants;^e that he thought the milky-way to consist of a multitude of small stars;^f that he

^a Plin. lib. 8. cap. 16. t. i. p. 443.

^b Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 46. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 803.

^c Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. i. p. 141.

^d Bruck. Hist. Philosoph. t. i. p. 1187.

^e Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 25. t. ii. p. 891.

^f Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 538. Plut. *ibid.*

reduced all our senses to that ~~of~~ feeling;^f and that he constantly denied that colours and other sensible qualities were inherent in bodies.^g

Some of these ideas had before been suggested,^h but he had the merit of adopting and extending them. He was the first who conceived others; and posterity may be enabled to determine whether they were sallies of genius or wanderings of the mind: future ages may perhaps discover with certainty what he has only been able to conjecture. If I could suspect your philosophers of jealousy, I should say that, in their works, Plato affects not to name him, and Aristotle incessantly to attack him.

Euclid exclaimed against this censure; and the questions already treated were resumed. Sometimes each combatant sustained the contest without a second, and sometimes the third had to defend himself against the attacks of the other two. I shall suppress the particulars of the dispute, to give the conclusions I drew from it; and explain, in a few words, the opinions of Aristotle and Empedocles on the origin and government of the universe. I have already, in another place, given, that of Democritus on the same subject.*

All the philosophers, said Euclid, have taught

^f Aristot. de Sens. cap. 4. t. i. p. 669.

^g Id. de Anim. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 649. Sext. Empir. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 399.

^h Aristot. de Sens. cap. 4. t. i. p. 669.

* See Chan. XXX. (Vol. III. p. 146.)

that the world was produced ; always to continue, according to some ; one day to have an end, as others affirm ; and, according to a third class, to terminate, and be re-produced, at periodical intervals. Aristotle maintains that the world always has been, and always will exist.¹ Permit me to interrupt you, said Meton. Before Aristotle, several of our Pythagoreans, and among others Ocellus of Lucania, had admitted the eternity of the world.² I confess it, replied Euclid, but Aristotle has supported the opinion by new proofs. I shall confine myself to those which he derives from the nature of motion. If motion, says he, has had a beginning, it must originally have begun in pre-existing beings ; which beings must either have been produced, or have existed from all eternity. In the former case they could not have been produced but by a motion prior to that which we suppose to have been the first : and, in the latter, we must say that these beings before they were moved were at rest ; but the idea of rest always contains in it that of a suspension of motion, of which it is the privation.¹ Motion therefore is eternal.

Some admit the eternity of matter, and ascribe an origin to the universe. The parts of

¹ Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 447.

² Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2.

matter, say they, were agitated without order in chaos till the moment in which they united to form bodies. We answer, that the motion of these particles must have been conformable or contrary to the laws of nature,^m since it is impossible we should conceive any other. If it was conformable to those laws, the world must always have existed; and if it was contrary to them, it never could have had a being: for, in the former case, the particles of matter would of themselves have assumed, from all eternity, that arrangement which they still preserve; and in the latter they never could have fallen into it, since a motion contrary to nature must separate and destroy, and cannot unite and construct.ⁿ And how is it possible to conceive that irregular motions should have been able to compose such substances as the bones, flesh, and other parts of the human body? °

We perceive, throughout nature, a succession of moving forces, which, acting one upon the other, produce a continuity of causes and effects. Thus the stone is moved by the staff,^p the staff by the arm; the arm by the will, &c. As the series of these forces cannot be continued to infinity,^q it must end in some moving powers, or rather in one single moving power, the exis-

^m Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. i. p. 475.

ⁿ Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 433.

^o Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 475.

^p Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 8. cap. 5. t. i. p. 415.

^q Id. ibid. Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1008.

tence of which has been from all eternity, and of necessity.^r This power is the first and most excellent of beings ; it is God himself, intelligent, immutable, indivisible, and unextended,^s who resides beyond the boundaries of the world, and there enjoys ineffable bliss in the contemplation of himself.^t

As his power is ever in action, he communicates, and will uninterruptedly communicate, motion to the *primum mobile*,^u to the celestial sphere in which are the fixed stars. He has communicated it from all eternity ; and, in fact, what power could have enchained his arm, or shall hereafter be able to confine it ? Why should motion have begun at one epocha rather than another, or why should it one day cease ?^x

The motion of the *primum mobile* communicates itself to the inferior spheres, and causes them to revolve diurnally from east to west ; but each of them has besides one or several motions, directed by eternal and immaterial substances.^y

^r Aristot. *Metaph.* lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 832. E. ; lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. D.

^s Id. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 8. cap. 6 et 7. t. i. p. 418 ; cap. 15. p. 430. Id. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 7 et 8. t. ii. p. 1001.

^t Id. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Id. *de Mor.* lib. 10. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 139. E. Id. *Magn. Mor.* lib. 2. cap. 15. p. 193.

^u Id. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 6. p. 999 ; cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1001. Id. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 8. cap. 15. t. i. p. 430.

^x Id. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 409 et 410.

^y Id. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1002. Bruck. t. i. p. 831.

These secondary agents are subordinate to the first mover,² nearly in the same manner as in an army the officers are to the general.³ This opinion is not novel. According to ancient traditions the Divinity pervades all nature; and though these traditions may have been disfigured by monstrous fables, they still clearly preserve the remains of the true doctrine.⁴

The primum mobile being put in motion by the immediate action of the first mover, an action ever simple and ever the same experiences no change, and is incapable of generation or corruption.⁵ It is in this constant and tranquil uniformity that the attribute of immortality is especially resplendent.

The same is true of the inferior spheres; but the diversity of their motions produces on the earth, and in the sublunary region, continual changes, such as the dissolution and reproduction of bodies.⁶

Euclid, after having endeavoured to demonstrate the connexion of these effects with the causes which he had assigned to them, continued as follows :

The excellence and beauty of the universe consists in the order and regularity by which it is

² Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525.

³ Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.

⁴ Id. ibid. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 1003. D.

⁵ Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 524.

⁶ Id. ibid. et lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 525.

perpetuated;^e a regularity which shines more conspicuously in the heavens than on the earth,^f and to which all beings more or less directly tend. As, in a well-regulated family,^g the freemen, slaves, and beasts of burden, all concur to the maintenance of the little community with more or less zeal or success according as they are more or less removed from the person of the master; in like manner, in the general system of things, all efforts are directed to the preservation of the whole with more promptitude and concert in the heavens, where the influence of the first mover more immediately acts; but with greater negligence and confusion in the sublunary regions, because they are more remote from his eye.^h

From this universal tendency of all beings to the same purpose, it results that nature, far from giving birth to any thing useless, ever seeks to produce what is the best possible,ⁱ and proposes to herself an end in all her operations.^k

At these words, the two strangers exclaimed, at the same time, But why recur to final causes?

^e Aristot. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.

^f Id. *de Part. Anim.* lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970. A.

^g Id. *Metaph.* lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1005.

^h Id. *de Gener.* lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 524. Id. *de Part. Anim.* lib. 1. cap. 1. t. i. p. 970.

ⁱ Id. *de Cœl.* lib. 2. cap. 5. t. i. p. 458; cap. 11. p. 463. Id. *de Gener.* *ibid.* p. 525.

^k Id. *de Nat. Auscult.* lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336. Id. *de Anim. Incess.* cap. 2. p. 734.

Who has told you that nature has chosen that which is best adapted to each species of beings? It rains on our fields; but is it to fertilise them? ~~Certainly~~ not. - It is only because the vapours, attracted by the sun, and condensed by the cold, acquire by their union a heaviness which compels them to descend upon the earth. They are accidentally the cause of the growth of our corn, and rot it when heaped up in the barn. It is by accident that we have some teeth convenient for the separating, and others proper for the mastication, of our food.¹ In the origin of things, added Meton, when chance produced the first rude sketches of animals, it formed heads which were not affixed to necks.^m Soon after men appeared with the heads of bulls, and bulls with human faces.ⁿ These facts are confirmed by tradition, which, immediately after the disentanglement of chaos, places the birth of giants, bodies provided with a great number of arms, and men who had but one eye.^o These races perished, from some defect in their conformation, while others have remained. Instead of saying, as should have been said, that the latter were better organised, it has been ima-

¹ Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336.

^m Emped. ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 3. cap. 7. t. i. p. 654. Id. de Coel. lib. 3. cap. 2. t. i. p. 476.

ⁿ Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336. Plut. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1123. Ælian. Hist. Anim. lib. 16. cap. 29.

^o Hom. Hesiod. Æschyl. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 43; lib. 7.

gined that there is a proper adaptation of their organs to their pretended end.

Scarcely any one of the philosophers, replied Euclid, has admitted what is called chance or fortune as a principle.^p These vague words have only been employed to explain effects which have not been foreseen, or those which proceed from remote, or hitherto unknown causes.^q Properly speaking, fortune and chance produce nothing of themselves; and if, in conformity to customary language, we admit them as accidental causes, we do not the less consider intelligence and nature as the primary causes.^r

You are not ignorant, said Anaxarchus, that the word nature has several acceptations: in what sense do you now employ it? I understand by this word, replied Euclid, the principle of motion which is self-existent in the elements of fire, air, earth, and water.^s Its action is ever uniform in the heavens, but frequently resisted by obstacles in the sublunary region. For example, the natural property of fire is to ascend, yet a foreign force frequently obliges it to take an opposite direction.^t Thus with respect to this lower region, nature is not

^p Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 332.

^q Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 333.

^r Id. ibid. cap. 6. p. 335.

^s Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 327; lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 330.

only the principle of motion, but also accidentally ~~the~~ rest and change."

Nature presents us with regular and constant revolutions, and effects that are invariable, or almost always the same. Suffer me to call your attention only to the latter, and ask you whether it is possible you should consider them as fortuitous? * Without enlarging on the admirable order which is conspicuous in the superior spheres, I will content myself with asking you, whether it is by chance that rain is constantly more frequent in winter than in summer, and the heat more powerful in summer than in winter? † Cast your eyes on plants, and principally on animals, in which nature displays herself in characters most distinct. Though the latter act without inquiry and deliberation, their actions nevertheless are so adapted to the purpose intended, that it has been doubted whether spiders and ants are not endowed with understanding. But if the swallow has a design in building her nest, and the spider in weaving her web; if plants are covered with leaves to defend their fruits; and if their roots, instead of rising into the air, make their way downwards into the earth, to imbibe its nourishing juices; shall we not be compelled to acknowledge that the final cause is clearly de-

* Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 327. *

† Id. ibid. cap. 5. p. 333.

‡ Id. ibid. cap. 8. p. 336 et 337.

monstrated in these effects, constantly repeated in the same manner?²

Art sometimes fails to attain its end, even when it employs reflexion, and sometimes attains it without; but it is not the less true that it always has an end in view. The same may be said of nature. On the one hand obstacles impede her operations, and monsters are her failures.³ On the other, by compelling creatures incapable of reflexion to produce other creatures like themselves, she conducts them to the end she has proposed in her works. And what is this end? The perpetuating of the species. What is the greatest good of these species? Their existence and preservation.⁴

While Euclid thus explained the ideas of Aristotle, Anaxarchus and Meton forced him to make confessions which they soon after employed against him.

You acknowledge, said they, a God, a first mover, whose immediate action eternally maintains order in the heavens; but you do not inform us how far his influence extends on earth. When pressed by our objections, you have at first affirmed that heaven and nature are dependent on him.⁵ You have afterwards said, with restriction, that all motion is *in some manner*

² Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 336 et 337.

³ Id. ibid. p. 337.

⁴ Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. p. 523. B.

⁵ Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 7. t. ii. p. 1000. E.

subordinate to him;^d that *he appears* to be the cause and principle of all things;^e that *he appears* to extend his care to human affairs.^f You have afterwards added, that in the universe he can only behold himself, for that the sight of guilt and disorder would be a pollution to his eyes;^g that he can neither be the author of the prosperity of the wicked, nor of the misfortunes of the good.^h Why all these doubts and restrictions? Explain yourself openly. Does the Divine Being extend his providence to mankind?

In the same manner, replied Euclid, that the master of a family extends his care to the lowest of his slaves.ⁱ The regulations he has established for the general benefit of his house, and not their particular advantage, subsist the same, though they frequently offend against them. He disregards their dissensions, and the vices inseparable from their nature. If their number is reduced by sickness, or if they destroy each other, they are soon replaced. Thus, in the little corner of the universe in which men reside, order is maintained by the general impulse of the will of the Supreme Being. The

^d Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525. E.

^e Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 841. D.

^f Id. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 140. E.

^g Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 1004. Du Val. Synops. Analyt. ibid. p. 122.

^h Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 185. A.

ⁱ Id. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 1004.

revolutions which this globe experiences, and the evils which afflict human nature, ~~ob-~~act not the progress of the universe; ~~the~~ earth still endures; generations succeed generations; and the great object of the first mover is fulfilled.*

You must excuse me, said Euclid, if I do not enter more circumstantially into the question.—Aristotle has not yet explained this subject, and perhaps he will entirely omit it; for he is more attentive to the principles of physics than to those of theology.¹ I am not even certain that I have properly understood his ideas; and the explanation of an opinion with which we are only acquainted by short conversations, without succession or connexion, too often resembles those works which are disfigured by the inattention or ignorance of the copyists.

Euclid was now silent, and Meton spoke as follows: Empedocles rendered his country illustrious by his laws,^m and extended and embellished philosophy by his writings. His poem on Nature,ⁿ and all his works in verse, abound in beauties which Homer himself might have owned.^o I grant, nevertheless, that his metaphors, however happy they may be, are injurious to the precision

* Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525.

¹ Procl. in Tim. p. 90.

^m Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 66.

ⁿ Id. ibid. § 77.

^o Id. ibid. § 67.

of his ideas, and sometimes only serve to cast a splendid veil over the operations of nature.^p As to his opinions, he followed Pythagoras, not with the blind deference of a common soldier, but with the noble audacity of the leader of a party, and with the independence of a man who would rather have chosen to be a private individual in a free city than to rule over slaves.^q Though he principally directed his attention to the phænomena of nature, he has nevertheless explained his opinion on first causes.

¶ In this world, which is only a small portion of the whole, and beyond which there is neither motion nor life,^r we distinguish two principles; the one active, which is God, and the other passive, which is matter.^s

¶ God, who is the supreme intelligence and the source of truth, can only be conceived by the mind.^t Matter was only an assemblage of subtle, similar, round, and immoveable parts,^u possessing essentially two properties, which we shall design by the names of love and hatred, destined the one to unite, and the other to separate, these

^p Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 555.

^q Xanth. et Aristot. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 63.

^r Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 879. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 52.

^s Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1112.

^t Orat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 1 et 4.

^u Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 13 et 17. p. 883. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 33.

parts.* To form the world, God only bestowed activity on these two moving forces, till then enchained. Immediately they exerted their powers, and the chaos was violently agitated by all the fury of hatred and love. In its bosom, upturned from its immense abysses, torrents of matter impetuously rolled, and dashed against each other. The similar parts, by turns attracted and repulsed, at length united and formed the four elements,[†] which, after new conflicts, produced deformed natures and monstrous beings[‡] that were afterwards succeeded by bodies of more perfect organisation.

Thus the world arose out of chaos, and thus shall it again return into it; for whatever is composed has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Every part is in motion and exists, while love makes one single thing of many, and hatred many things from one:[§] but the whole is stopped and desolved when these two contrary principles are no longer in equilibrium. These reciprocal transitions from motion to rest, from the existence of bodies to their dissolution, return at periodical intervals.^{||}

* Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 322. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 844.

† Bruck. t. i. p. 1115. Moshem. in. Cudw. cap. 1. § 13. t. i. p. 24 et 210.

‡ Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 336.

§ Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 408.

|| Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 319; lib. 8. cap. 1. p. 409. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 10. t. i. p. 447.

Gods and genii in the heavens,^c particular souls in animals and plants, and a universal soul which pervades the world,^d maintain in all things motion and life. These intelligences, the essence of which is a most pure and subtle fire, are subordinate to the Supreme Being, as a chorus of musicians is to its coryphæus, or an army to its general;^e but, as they emanate from that being, the school of Pythagoras gives to them the name of divine substances;^f and hence the expressions common with those philosophers: That the sage is a god;^g that the Divine Being is the spirit and soul of the world;^h that he penetrates, incorporates with, and vivifies matter.ⁱ We must beware, however, that we do not hence conclude, that the Divine Nature is separated into an infinity of parts. God is perfect unity;^k he communicates himself, but he is not divided.

He resides in the most exalted region of the heavens. The inferior gods, the ministers of

^c Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 3. Hierocl. ibid. p. 16. Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 882.

^d Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

^e Onat. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 4. Plut. ibid. p. 1.

^f Onat. ibid. p. 5.

^g Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. ultim. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 62. Bruck. p. 1107.

^h Onat. ibid. p. 4.

ⁱ Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 11. t. ii. p. 403. Id. de Senect. cap. 21. t. iii. p. 319.

^k Beausobr. Hist. du Manich. liv. 5. t. ii. p. 170.

his will; preside in the stars; the genii on the earth, and in the space by which it is immediately surrounded. In the spheres nearest to his abode all is good and all is order, because the most perfect beings have been placed near his throne, and are implicitly obedient to the destiny, I mean the laws which he has himself established.¹ Disorder begins to be perceived in the intermediary spaces; and evil gains an entire ascendancy over good^m in the sublunary region, because there are deposited the sediment and dregs of all those substances which the multiplied struggles of hatred and love have been unable to bring to their perfection.ⁿ Here four principal causes influence our actions; God, our will, destiny, and fortune.^o God, because he extends his care to us;^p our will, because we deliberate before we act; and destiny and fortune,^q because our projects are frequently overthrown by events conformable, or apparently contrary, to established laws.

We have two souls, the one sensitive, gross, corruptible, and perishable, which is composed of the four elements; and the other intelligent,

¹ Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 1084.

^m Ocell. Lucan. cap. 2.

ⁿ Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

^o Id. ibid. Bruck. ibid.

^p Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 27. Ammon. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1115.

^q Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 332, &c.
Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1317.

indissoluble, and which is an emanation from the Deity himself.^r I shall only speak of the latter, which establishes the most intimate relation between us and the gods, the genii, animals, plants, and all beings, the souls of which have a common origin with ours.^s Thus all animated nature is only one single family, of which God is the head.

On this affinity is founded the doctrine of the metempsychosis, a doctrine which we have borrowed from the Egyptians,^t which some admit with different modifications, and with which Empedocles has believed he might be permitted to intermingle the fictions that adorn poetry.

This opinion supposes the fall, punishment, and restoration of souls.^u Their number is limited;^x their destiny to live happy in some one of the planets. If they become polluted with guilt, they are exiled to the earth. Then, condemned to be enveloped with gross matter, they pass continually from one body to another, suffering the calamities annexed to all the conditions of life, unable to endure their new state, and so miserable as to have forgotten their primitive dignity.^y When death has broken the

^r Bruck. t. i. p. 1117.

^s Id. *ibid.* p. 1118.

^t Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 123.

^u Bruck. t. i. p. 1091. Moshem. in Cudw. cap. 1. § 31. p. 64.

^x Bruck. *ibid.* p. 1092.

^y Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607. Id. de Esu Carn. p. 996. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 112. Bruck. t. i. p. 1118.

bonds by which they were enchained to matter, one of the celestial genii takes charge of them, and conducts to the infernal shades, and delivers over for a time to the furies, those who have been defiled with atrocious crimes;² but transports to the stars those who have walked in the way of justice. But often the immutable decrees of the gods subject both to the most rigorous trials. Their exile and their peregrinations endure for thousands of years,³ and only end when, by a more regular conduct, they have merited to rejoin their author, and to partake, in some measure, with him of the honours of divinity.^b

Empedocles thus describes the torments which he himself pretended to have suffered. “I have appeared successively under the form of a young man, a maiden, a plant, a bird, and a fish.^c In one of these transmigrations, I for some time wandered like an airy phantom in the expanse of the heavens; but suddenly I was several times precipitated into the sea, thrown again upon the land, hurled into the sun, and again repelled into vortices of air.^d An object of abhorrence to myself and other beings, all the ele-

² Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 31. Bruck. t. i. p. 1092.

³ Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 123. Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.

^b Hierocl. Aur. Carm. v. ult. Bruck. t. i. p. 1094.

^c Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 77. Anthol. lib. 1. p. 127. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 12. cap. 7.

^d Emped. ap. Plut. de vit. Ære alien. t. ii. p. 830.

ments rejected me as a slave who had absconded from the eye of his master."^e

Meton, as he concluded, observed that the greater part of these ideas were common to the disciples of Pythagoras, but that Empedocles was the first who had imagined the alternate destruction and reproduction of the world, taught that the four elements were the principles of things,^f and put these elements in action by the assistance of love and hatred.

You will now admit, said Anaxarchus to me, with a smile, that Democritus had reason to say that Truth is concealed in a pit of immense depth.^g And you will also admit, answered I, that she would be much astonished were she to come again upon the earth, especially in Greece. She would soon leave us once more, replied Euclid; we should mistake her for Error.

The preceding systems relate to the origin of the world. Philosophers are not less divided concerning the state of our globe after its formation, and the revolutions which it has undergone to the present time. It was long submerged, said Anaxarchus, beneath the waters of the ocean; the heat of the sun caused a part of them to evaporate, and the earth ap-

^e Emped. ap. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 607.

^f Aristot. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 845.

^g Cicer. Quæst. Acad. lib. i. cap. 12. t. ii. p. 75.

peared.^b From the mud which remained on its surface, and in which the same heat excited a fermentation, the different species of plants and animals derived their origin. We still see a remarkable example of this in Egypt, where, after the inundation of the Nile, the mud and slime deposited on the fields produce an infinite number of small animals.^c I doubt the fact, said I. I have been told the same story in the Thebaïs; but I was never able to satisfy myself of its truth by my own observation. We should make no difficulty to admit it, answered Euclid, since we attribute no other origin to certain species of fish than the mud and sand of the sea.^d

Anaxarchus continued: I have said that, in a series of ages, the quantity of the waters which covered the earth was diminished by the action of the sun. The same cause continually subsisting, a time must arrive when the sea shall be totally exhausted.^e I seem in fact, replied Euclid, to hear Æsop relating to his pilot the following fable: Charybdis has twice opened his enormous mouth, and twice the waters which covered the earth have rushed into his bowels; the first time the mountains appeared,

^b Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 549. Anaxim. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 896.

^c Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 7 et 8.

^d Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 15. t. i. p. 871.

^e Democr. ap. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. iii. t. i. p. 554.

the second the islands, and at the third the ocean shall disappear.^m Is it possible that Democritus should have been ignorant that, though an immense quantity of vapours are raised by the heat of the sun, they are soon converted into rain, fall again upon the earth, and rapidly hasten to restore to the sea the water it had lost?ⁿ Can you deny, said Anaxarchus, that fields now laden with harvests were formerly hidden beneath the waters? But since the sea has been forced to abandon them, it must be diminished in quantity. If in certain places, answered Euclid, the land has gained on the sea, in others the sea has gained on the land.^o

Anaxarchus was preparing to reply, but I interrupted him. I now, said I to Euclid, understand why shells are found in mountains and in the bowels of the earth, and why we find petrified fish in the quarries of Syracuse.^p The sea has a slow and regular progress, by which it proceeds over all the regions of our globe: it will one day, no doubt, overwhelm Athens, Lacedæmon, and the greatest cities of Greece. If this idea is not very flattering to the nations which aspire to eternal celebrity, it at least reminds us of those astonishing revolutions of the heavenly bodies concerning

^m Democr. ap. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 3. t. i. p. 554.

ⁿ Aristot. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 552.

^o Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 546 et 548.

^p Xenoph. ap. Origen. Philosoph. cap. 14. t. i. p. 893.

which I have heard the Egyptian priests discourse. Has it been possible to fix the period of those of the sea?

Your imagination grows heated, replied Euclid: be more calm. The sea and continent, according to us, are like two great empires, which never change their place, though they frequently dispute the possession of some small frontier countries. Sometimes the sea is forced to retire by the mud and sand which the rivers bring down into it, and sometimes it drives them back by the action of its waves and other causes. In Acarnania, in the plain of Ilion, near Ephesus and Miletus, the accumulations of earth at the mouths of rivers have added greatly to the land.^a

When I crossed the Palus Mæotis, answered I, I was informed that the mud and slime deposited continually by the Tanaïs had so raised the bottom of the lake, that, for some years past, the vessels intended for the trade of that sea were built smaller than they formerly were.^b I can adduce a still more remarkable example, replied Euclid: all that part of Egypt which extends, from north to south, from the sea to the Thebaïs, is the work and a gift of the Nile. This whole country, in ancient times, was a

^a Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 10. Strab. lib. 1. p. 58; lib. 13. p. 595 et 598. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37.

^b Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 549. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 308.

gulf, which extended in a direction almost parallel to that of the Red Sea;⁵ but the Nile has filled it up with the beds of slime which it annually deposits. The fact is proved not only by the traditions of the Egyptians, the nature of the soil, the shells found in the mountains situated above Memphis,⁶ * but also by an observation which shows that, notwithstanding its actual rise, the soil of Egypt has not yet attained to the level of the neighbouring countries. Sesostris, Necos, Darius, and other princes, having endeavoured to cut canals of communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, perceived that the surface of that sea was higher than the land of Egypt.⁷

While the sea suffers some part of its dominions to be wrested from it, on its frontiers, it indemnifies itself for the loss by encroachments on the land in other places. Its continual efforts open to it a passage through parts of the land, which it silently but incessantly corrodes. The sea, according to every appearance, has

⁵ Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 11. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. p. 548. Strab. lib. 1. p. 50; lib. 12. p. 536. Ephor. ap. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37. Diod. lib. 3. p. 144.

⁶ Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 12.

* The ancients believed that a great part of Egypt was the work of the Nile: the moderns are divided on this question. (See Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 24. col. 261. Frer. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xvi. p. 333. Wood's Essay on the original Genius of Homer, p. 103. Bruce's Travels, book 6. chap. 16, &c. &c.)

⁷ Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 158. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 548. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 29.

separated Sicily from Italy,^{*} Eubœa from Bœœtia,[†] and a number of other islands from the neighbouring continent. Extensive countries have been swallowed up by a sudden irruption of its waves. These terrifying revolutions have not been described by our historians, because history only extends to a few moments of the life of nations; but they have sometimes left indelible traces in the memory of a people.

If we journey into Samothrace, we shall be informed that the waters of the Pontus Euxinus, long enclosed in a basin shut in on all sides, and incessantly increased by the rivers of Europe and Asia, forced open the passages of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, impetuously rushing into the Ægean Sea, extended its limits at the expense of the surrounding shores. Festivals instituted in the island still preserve the memory of the calamity with which the inhabitants were threatened, and from which they were preserved by the providence of the gods.^{*} If we consult mythology, we shall be told that Hercules, whose labours have been confounded with those of Nature, separated Europe from Africa. Is it not meant, by this fable, that the Atlantic Ocean destroyed the isthmus which united these two parts of the earth, and opened

^{*} Æschyl. ap. Strab. lib. 6. p. 258. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxvii. p. 66.

[†] Strab. lib. 1. p. 60.

[‡] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. p. 322.

to itself a communication with the Mediterranean Sea?^a

Other causes have multiplied these calamitous and wonderful effects. Beyond the strait of which I have just spoken, there existed, according to ancient traditions, an island as large as Asia and Africa, which, with all its wretched inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake in the unfathomable gulfs of the Atlantic Ocean.^b How many countries have been deluged by the waters of Heaven! How often have impetuous winds covered fertile plains with mountains of sand! The air, water, and fire, seem to have conspired against the earth. Yet these terrible catastrophes, which menace the whole world with impending ruin, affect only some points of the surface of a globe which is itself but as a point in the universe.^c

We have seen above that the sea and land seize, by right of conquest, on the domains of each other, and by consequence at the expense of unhappy mortals. The waters which flow over, or remain stagnant on, the earth, do not produce less alterations on its surface. Not to mention the rivers which by turns carry plenty or desolation through a country, we must observe that, at different periods, the same land is

^a Strat. ap. Strab. lib. 1. p. 49. Plin. lib. 3. cap. 1. t. i. p. 135.

^b Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 25; in Crit. p. 112, &c.

^c Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 548.

surcharged, sufficiently supplied with, or absolutely deprived of, the water necessary to fertilise it. At the time of the Trojan war, the environs of Argos were a marshy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced luxuriant harvests, and was extremely populous. But the heat of the sun, having, during eight centuries, absorbed the superfluous humidity of the former of these districts, and the moisture necessary to the fecundity of the latter, has rendered sterile the fields of Mycenæ, and bestowed fertility on those of Argos.^d

What nature has here effected on a small scale, she has operated on a larger over the whole earth, which she has incessantly deprived, by the action of the sun, of the juices that fertilise it. But as they must thus at length be totally exhausted, she causes, from time to time, deluges which, like severe winters, quickly repair the losses that certain regions have suffered during a long succession of ages.^e

This hypothesis is confirmed by the annals of our history, in which we find men, who had no doubt escaped from the wreck of their nation, erect their dwellings on eminences,^f construct mounds, and give a course to the waters which

^d Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 547.

^e Id. ibid. p. 548.

^f Id. ibid. p. 547. Plut. ap. Strab. lib. 13. p. 592.

had remained stagnant on the plains. Thus, in the most ancient times, a king of Lacedæmon collected in one channel the waters with which Laconia was covered, and formed the river Eurotas.^a

From these remarks, we may presume that the Nile, the Tanais, and all rivers, though they have been called eternal, were at first only lakes, formed in sterile plains by sudden inundations, and afterwards compelled, by the industry of men or some other cause, to make themselves a way over the lands.^b We may also presume that they abandoned their channel, when new revolutions forced them to spread themselves over places which are now dry and desert. Such is, according to Aristotle, the distribution of the waters which nature has bestowed on the different regions of the earth.

But where does she reserve them before she manifests them to our eyes, and where has she placed the origin of fountains and rivers? She has dug, say some, immense reservoirs in the entrails of the earth, into which, in a great measure, the waters of heaven penetrate, and from whence they flow in greater or less abundance and continuity, according to the capacity of the receptacle in which they are contained.^c But, reply their opponents, what receptacle could

^a Pausan. lib. 3 cap. 1. p. 204.

^b Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. cap. 14. t. i. p. 549.

^c Id. ibid. cap. 13. t. i. p. 554.

ever be sufficiently spacious to contain that prodigious quantity of water which the great rivers pour forth during a whole year? Though we should admit subterranean cavities for the surplus of the rains; yet, as these cannot suffice for the daily expense of the rivers and fountains, we must acknowledge that, at all times, and in every place, the air, or rather the vapour with which it is loaded, condensed by cold, is converted into water in the bosom of the earth, and on its surface, as it is changed into rain in the atmosphere. This operation is still more easily performed on the mountains, because their superficies arrests a prodigious quantity of vapours in their passage; and it is therefore remarked that the greatest mountains give birth to the greatest rivers.*

Anaxarchus and Meton having taken leave of Euclid, I remained, and requested him to communicate to me some of his ideas on that part of physics which particularly considers the essence, properties, and reciprocal action, of bodies. This science, replied Euclid, has some relation to that of divination. The object of the one is to explain the intention of Nature in ordinary cases; and that of the other, to interpret the will of the gods by extraordinary events: but the discoveries of the former must sooner or later detect the imposture

of its rival. A time shall come when those prodigies which alarm the vulgar shall be classed among the ordinary productions of nature, or when the present blindness of the multitude shall alone be considered as a kind of prodigy.

The effects of nature being infinitely varied, and their causes infinitely obscure, natural philosophy has hitherto only been able to hazard conjectures. There is perhaps no truth of which it has not had a glimpse, nor any absurdity which it has not advanced. It ought therefore at present to confine itself to observations, and refer the conclusions from them to future ages. Yet, though scarcely out of its infancy, it has already manifested the indiscretion and presumption of a more advanced age; it runs where it ought only to creep; and, notwithstanding the rigid rules which it has prescribed to itself, we every day see it erect systems on mere probabilities, or on frivolous appearances.

I shall not here repeat what the different schools have said on each of the phænomena which are the objects of our senses. If I stop to explain the theory of the elements, and the application that has been made of that theory, it is because nothing appears to me to give a more just idea of the sagacity of the Greek philosophers. It is of little importance whether their principles were well or ill founded; they may perhaps one day be censured for the inac-

curacy of their notions on natural philosophy, but it will at least be acknowledged that they erred like men of genius.

How was it possible that the first philosophers, who wished to gain a knowledge of the constituent principles of sensible beings, should flatter themselves that they should be successful in their inquiries? Art furnishes no means to analyse these beings. Division, how long soever it may be continued, presents to the eye or imagination of the observer only surfaces more or less extended: yet it seemed apparent, after repeated trials, that there were in nature two species of bodies, simple and compound; that the latter were only the result of the combination of the former; and, in a word, that the simple bodies preserved in the compound the same affections and the same properties which they before possessed. The path was then opened, and it appeared essential first to study the nature of simple bodies. The following are some observations that have been made on this subject. I received them from Aristotle.

The earth, water, air, and fire, are the elements of all bodies; thus every body may be resolved into some of these elements.¹

The elements, being simple bodies, cannot be divided into bodies of another nature; but they

mutually generate each other, and are incessantly changed one into the other.^m

It is impossible precisely to ascertain in what proportion these constituent principles are combined in each body; it is therefore only by conjecture that Empedocles has said that a bone is composed of two parts of water, two of earth, and four of fire.ⁿ

We are not better acquainted with the form of the integral parts of the elements; those who have endeavoured to determine this question have laboured without success. To explain the properties of fire, some have said that its particles must be of a pyramidal figure, and others that they must be spherical. The solidity of the globe which we inhabit has caused the cubical form to be assigned to the terrestrial element.^o

The elements possess in themselves a principle of motion and rest which is inherent in them.^p—This principle compels the element of earth to tend towards the centre of the universe, the water to raise itself above the earth, the air to ascend above the water, and the fire to mount above the air.^q Thus positive gravity, without

^m Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 479. Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. i. p. 525. Mosheim. in Cudw. t. i. p. 24.

ⁿ Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 7. t. i. p. 627.

^o Id. de Cœl. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 483.

^p Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 327. Id. de Cœl. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. i. p. 432.

any mixture of levity, appertains only to the earth; and positive levity, without any mixture of gravity, only to fire; the two intermediary elements, air and water, have, with relation to the two extremes, only a relative gravity and levity, since they are lighter than earth, and heavier than fire. The relative gravity is no longer perceived when the element which possesses it descends into a region inferior to its own; thus the air loses its gravity in the water, and the water in the earth.^f

You are of opinion, then, said I to Euclid, that the air is heavy? It cannot be doubted, answered he; a bladder, when inflated, weighs more than when it contains no air.^g

To the four elements are annexed four essential properties, cold, heat, dryness, and humidity. The two former are active, the two latter passive.^h — Of these, each element possesses two: earth is cold and dry, water cold and moist, air hot and moist, and fire dry and hot.ⁱ The opposition of these qualities promotes the designs of Nature, who always works by contraries, and therefore are they the only agents which she employs to produce all her effects.^k

^f Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 490.

^g Id. ibid.

^h Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 583.

ⁱ Id. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 516.

^k Id. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. i. p. 321. Plut. adv. Col. t. ii. p. 1111.

The elements which have a common property are easily changed one into another; it suffices for this to destroy in either the property by which they differ.¹ Should any external cause deprive water of its coldness, and communicate warmth to it, it will be warm and moist, and will then possess the two characteristic properties of air, and will no longer be distinguishable from that element; this is effected by ebullition, which causes the water to evaporate and ascend into the region of the air. If another cause should there deprive it of its heat, and restore to it its natural coldness, it will re-assume its original form, and fall again to the earth; which is the case when it rains. In like manner, if earth loses its frigidity, it will be changed into fire; and, if it be deprived of its dryness, transmuted into water.²

The elements which have no common quality are also reciprocally changed into each other; but these permutations are more rare and slow.³

From these observations, supported by facts, or inductions,⁴ it will be easily conceived that compound bodies must be more or less heavy, according as they contain a greater or less number of particles of the elements which have po-

¹ Aristot. de Gener. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 517.

² Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 558.

³ Id. de Generat. lib. 2. cap. 4. t. i. p. 517.

⁴ Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 1. t. i. p. 583.

sitive or relative gravity.^c If, of two bodies of an equal size, we find that one is heavier than the other, we shall conclude that the terrestrial element predominates in the former, and water or air in the latter.

Water is evaporated by heat, and frozen by cold; hence the liquids subject to the same vicissitudes will be, in a great measure, composed of that element.^d Heat dries and hardens the earth, and thus all bodies on which it acts in the same manner will be principally composed of the terrestrial element.

From the nature of the four elements, and their essential properties, which are, as I have said, heat, cold, dryness, and humidity, are derived, not only the gravity and levity, but also the density and rarity, softness and hardness, fragility, flexibility, and all the other qualities, of compound bodies.^e Hence we are able to account for their continual changes, and to explain the phænomena of heaven, and the productions of the earth. In the heavens the meteors,^f and in the bosom of our globe the fossils, metals, &c. are only the productions of dry exhalations or humid vapours.^g

The following example will show, in the

^c Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. i. p. 490.

^d Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 10. t. i. p. 597.

^e Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 1. t. i. p. 976. Id. Meteor. lib. 4. cap. 2, 3, &c. t. i. p. 585.

^f Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 558.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 583.

clearest manner, the use which is made of the preceding notions. Natural philosophers were divided concerning the cause of earthquakes: Democritus, among others, attributed them to abundant rains, which penetrated the earth, and which, on certain occasions (the vast reservoirs of water that have been imagined in the bowels of the globe not being able to contain them), made violent efforts to escape.^h—Aristotle, conformably to the principles above inculcated, asserts, on the contrary, that the rain-water, rarefied by the internal heat of the earth, or by that of the sun, is converted into a quantity of air, which, finding no issue, shakes and raises the super-incumbent strata of the globe.ⁱ

The ancient philosophers wished to know how things had been made, before they endeavoured to discover what their actual properties are.^k The book of Nature was open before their eyes; but, instead of reading it, they undertook to comment on it. After long and useless labours, it was at length perceived, that, to be acquainted with animals, plants, and the various productions of Nature, it was necessary to study them with unwearied assiduity. The result has been a body of observations, and a new science more curious, fruitful, and interest-

^h Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 7. t. i. p. 566.

ⁱ Id. ibid. cap. 8.

^k Id. ibid. cap. 1.

ing, than ancient physics. If a philosopher, after having long studied the nature of animals, should wish to communicate to others the fruits of his researches, he ought to be able perfectly to discharge two essential duties; first that of the historian, and afterwards that of the commentator.

As an historian, he should treat of their size, shape, colour, nutriment, disposition, and manners; he should be able to explain anatomically the structure of their bodies, which should be known to him by means of dissection.¹

As a commentator, he should excite our admiration by explaining the wisdom of Nature^m in the adaptation of their organs to the uses for which they were intended, to the element in which each creature is to live, and to the principle of life by which it is animated;ⁿ and he should be able to point out the same wise contrivance in the action of the different springs which produce motion,^o and in the means employed to preserve and perpetuate each species.^p

However limited the study of the celestial and eternal bodies may be, it more excites our transports than that of terrestrial and perishable

¹ Aristot. de Anim. Incess. cap. 7. t. i. p. 738. Id. Hist. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. i. p. 785.

^m Id. de Part. Anim. passim.

ⁿ Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 976.

^o Id. de Anim. Incess. t. i. p. 733.

^p Id. de Gener. t. i. p. 493.

substances. It may be said, that the view of the heavens makes the same impression on the natural philosopher as beauty makes on a man who, to obtain the object of whom he is enamoured, would willingly consent to close his eyes on the rest of the world.⁹ But if philosophy, in ascending to the superior regions, astonishes us by the sublimity of her discoveries, at least while she remains on earth she delights us by the profusion of knowledge which she procures us, and which indemnifies us with interest for all the toil it may have cost us. What charms, in fact, does not Nature diffuse over the labours of the philosopher, who, convinced that she does nothing in vain,^r has been able to discover the secret of her operations, who every where recognises the impress of her greatness, and imitates not the puerile pride of those minds who disdain to cast down their eyes upon an insect?—Some strangers coming to consult Heraclitus, found him near an oven, where he had taken refuge from the rigours of the season. As they stopped on the threshold of the door, from a kind of shame, he cried out to them, “Enter! the immortal gods do not disdain to honour these places with their presence.” The majesty of Nature in like manner

⁹ Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 974.

^r Id. de Cœl. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. i. p. 463. Id. de Anim. Incess. cap. 2. t. i. p. 734.

ennobles the beings which are most vile in our eyes; every where this common mother acts with profound wisdom, and by ways which lead with certainty to the ends she has proposed.*

When we glance over the infinite number of her productions, we immediately perceive that, to study them with profit, discern their relations, and describe them with accuracy, it is necessary to arrange them in a certain order, and distribute them first into a small number of classes, such as those of animals, plants, and minerals. If we afterwards examine each of these classes, we shall find that the beings of which they are composed, having between themselves resemblances and differences more or less sensible, should be divided and subdivided into various species, until we arrive at individuals.

Scales of this kind would be easy to form, if it were possible exactly to ascertain the transition from one species to another; but these changes being made in an imperceptible manner,† we incessantly risk confounding what ought to be distinguished, and distinguishing what is in reality not different. This is the defect of the methods which have hitherto been made public;‡ and in which we see with surprise certain birds

* Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 5. t. i. p. 975.

† Id. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 897.

classed among aquatic animals, or in a species equally foreign to their nature. The authors of these schemes have been mistaken in their principle; they have judged of the whole by the part. Thus some, taking wings for a specific difference, have divided all animals into two great families, the one containing those which have wings, and the other those which have not; without perceiving that, among individuals of the same species, as for example ants, there are some which have wings, and others which have them not.*

The division of animals into domestic and wild, though adopted by some naturalists, is equally defective; for man, and the animals which he has been able to tame, do not specifically differ from the man, the horse, and the dog, that live in the woods.†

Every division, to be exact, ought to establish a real difference between the objects which it distinguishes; and every difference, to be specific, ought to unite in one single and same species all the individuals which appertain to it;‡ that is to say, all those which are absolutely alike, or which differ only by more or less.

As these conditions are very difficult to fulfil,§ Aristotle has conceived a plan which unites all

* Aristot. de Part. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 3. t. i. p. 971.

† Id. ibid. p. 972.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 971.

§ Id. ibid. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 974.

the advantages, without any of the inconveniences, of the preceding methods. He will explain it in one of his treatises;^b and this treatise will certainly be the work of the man of industry who omits nothing, and the man of genius who sees every thing.*

Among the observations with which he will enrich his history of animals, there are some which he has communicated to me, and which I shall here repeat, that you may know in what manner nature is at present studied.

1st. Considering animals with respect to the countries they inhabit, it has been found that wild ones are more ferocious in Asia, stronger in Europe, and more varied in their forms in Africa, which, according to the proverb, is ever productive of some new monster.^c—Those which live on the mountains are more mischievous than those of the plains.^d I know not, however, whether this difference proceeds from the places which they inhabit, or from the defect of food; for in Egypt, where several kinds of animals are provided with sustenance, the most fierce and the gentlest live quietly together, and the crocodile licks the hand of the priest who brings him food.^e

^b Aristot. Hist. Anim. t. 1. p. 761.

* M. de Buffon has extremely well explained this plan in the Preface to the first volume of his Natural History.

^c Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 28. t. i. p. 920. A.

^d Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 920. C.

^e Id. ibid. lib. 9. cap. 1. p. 923.

The climate has a powerful influence on their manners.^f Extreme cold or heat renders them ferocious and cruel.^g The winds, waters, and the aliments on which they subsist, are sometimes sufficient to produce considerable differences.^h The nations of the South are timid and abject, those of the North courageous and confident; but the former are more enlightened, perhaps because they are more ancient, perhaps also because they are more softened and enfeebled; for, in fact, men of daring and ardent passions are rarely tormented with the restless desire of obtaining knowledge.ⁱ

The same cause which produces these moral differences among men, acts also on their organisation. Among other proofs of this observation, it may be remarked, that the colour of the eye is commonly blue in cold, and black in hot countries.^k

2d. Birds are very sensible of the rigours of the seasons.^l At the approach of winter or of summer, some descend into the plain, or retire to the mountains; others depart into distant countries, to breathe a more temperate air. Thus, to avoid the excess of heat and cold, the Persian monarch successively removes his court

^f Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747.

^g Aristot. Problem. sect. 14. t. ii. p. 750.

^h Plat. de Leg. ibid.

ⁱ Aristot. ibid. p. 752.

^k Id. ibid. p. 751.

^l Id. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 12. t. iii. p. 608.

to the northern and the southern provinces of his empire.^m

The time of the departure and return of birds is always about the equinoxes. The weakest lead the van. They almost all go together, and as it were in tribes; and have sometimes a long journey to perform before they arrive at the place of their destination. The cranes come from Scythia, and direct their course to the marshes in Upper Egypt, and the places where the Nile has its source, and where the pygmies are found. —How! said I, do you believe in the existence of pygmies? Are they still at war with the cranes, as they were in Homer's time? ⁿ That war, replied he, is a fiction of the poet, which will not be adopted by the historian of nature.* The pygmies, however, really exist; they are a race of men who are very small, as are likewise their horses; they are black, and live in caves, after the manner of the Troglodytæ.^o

The same cause, added Euclid, which compels certain birds annually to exchange one country for another, acts likewise in the depths

^m Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 8. p. 233. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 604. Athen. lib. 12. p. 513. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 3. cap. 13.

ⁿ Homer. Iliad. lib. 3. v. 4.

* Aristotle has not related this fable, though he has been accused of it by some writers, on the authority of the Latin translation.

^o Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 12. p. 907. Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 32. Nonnos. ap. Phot. p. 8. Ctesias. ap. eund. p. 144. Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 306.

of the waters.^p At Byzantium we see, at stated times, several species of fish sometimes ascend towards the Pontus Euxinus, and at other seasons descend into the Ægean Sea; they go in a collective body, like the birds; and their route, like human life, is marked by the snares which await them in their passage.

3d. Researches have been made into the duration of the life of animals; and it has been thought that, in many species, the females live longer than the males. But, without attending to this difference, we may affirm that dogs commonly live fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes even twenty years;^q oxen about the same time;^r horses usually eighteen or twenty, sometimes thirty, or even fifty;^s asses above thirty;^t camels above fifty,^u † and sometimes even to a hundred;^x elephants, according to some, live two hundred years, and, according to others, three hundred.^y It was anciently pretended that the stag lived four times the age of the crow, and the latter nine times the age of man.^z All

^p Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 909.

^q Id. ibid. lib. 6. c. 20. t. i. p. 878. Buff. Hist. Nat. t. v. p. 223.

^r Aristot. ibid. cap. 21. p. 879.

^s Id. ibid. cap. 22. p. 880. ^t Id. ibid. cap. 23. p. 881.

^u According to M. de Buffon, asses, like horses, live twenty-five or thirty years (Hist. Natur. t. iv. p. 226.)

^x Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 6. cap. 26. p. 882.

^y According to M. de Buffon, forty or fifty years (t. ii. p. 239).

^z Arist. Hist. Animal. lib. 8. cap. 9. p. 906.

¹ Id. ibid.

² Hesiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415.

that is at present certainly known with respect to the stag is, that the time of gestation and the rapid growth of that animal will not permit us to suppose that it is very long-lived.^a

Nature sometimes produces exceptions to her general laws. The Athenians will tell you of a mule which died at the age of eighty years. At the time the temple of Minerva was built it was set at liberty, and released from all further labour, on account of its great age; but it still continued to go before the others, animating them by its example, and seeking to partake in their toil. The dealers in the markets were, by a decree of the people, forbidden to drive it away when it approached the baskets of grain or fruits which they exposed to sale.^b

4th. It has been remarked, as I have said above, that nature passes from one genus or species to another by imperceptible gradations;^c and that from man to the most insensible beings all her productions seem to form one closely connected series.

Let us begin with minerals, which constitute the first link of the chain. I behold only a matter which is passive, sterile, unorganised, and consequently without wants and

^a Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 6. cap. 29. p. 883.

^b Id. ibid. cap. 24. p. 882. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 44. t. i. p. 470. Plut. de Solert. Anim. t. ii. p. 970.

^c Aristot. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 897.

without functions. Presently I seem to discern in certain plants a kind of motion, some obscure sensations, a spark of life; and in all a constant reproduction, but deprived of those maternal cares by which it is cherished. I repair to the shores of the sea, and am inclined to doubt whether its shell-fish belong to the class of animals or to that of vegetables. Again I return, and the signs of life multiply around me. I see beings that move, respire, and are influenced by passions and duties. If there are some that, like the plants of which I have just spoken, are abandoned to chance from the moment of their birth, there are others whose education is attended to with more care. These live in society with the fruit of their loves; those are become strangers to their families. Several present to me the sketch of our manners: I find among them gentle and ungovernable dispositions; the signs of mildness, courage, audacity, barbarity, fear, and cowardice, and sometimes even the image of prudence and reason. We possess understanding, wisdom, and the arts; and they have faculties which supply the place of these advantages.^d

This succession of analogies at length conducts us to the extremity of the chain, where man is placed. Among the qualities which

^d Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 1. t. i. p. 897; lib. 9. cap. 7. p. 928.

entitle him to the first rank, I remark two which are essential: the first is that understanding, which, while he lives, raises him to the contemplation of celestial things;^e and the second his happy organisation, and especially the touch, the first, most necessary, and most exquisite of our senses,^f the source of industry, and the instrument most proper to second the operations of the mind. It is to the hand, said the philosopher Anaxagoras, that man owes a part of his superiority over other animals.^g

But why, said I, do you place man at the extremity of the chain? Is the immense space which separates him from the Divine Being only one vast desert? The Egyptians, the Chaldean magi, the Phrygians, and the Thracians, fill this interval with beings as much superior to us as we are to the brutes.^h

I meant, replied Euclid, only to speak of visible beings. It is to be presumed that there are above us an infinite number of others who escape our sight. From the rudest kind of existence, we have ascended by imperceptible degrees to our own species; and, in proceeding

^e Aristot. de Mor. lib. 10. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 140.

^f Id. de Part. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 8. t. i. p. 987. De Sens. cap. 4. t. i. p. 668. Hist. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 15. t. i. p. 773. De Anim. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. i. p. 642; lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 661. Anonym. ap. Phot. p. 1316.

^g Plut. de. Frat. Amor. t. ii. p. 478.

^h Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 1003. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 415.

from that limit to the Divinity, we must, no doubt, pass through different orders of intelligences, by so much the more glorious and pure as they approach nearer to the throne of the Eternal Being.

This opinion, which is conformable to the progress of nature, is equally ancient and general among various nations. From them we have borrowed it; and we believe the earth and the heavens to be filled with genii to whom the Supreme Being has confided the government of the universe.¹—We distribute them throughout all animated nature, but principally in those regions which extend around and above us, from the earth to the sphere of the moon. There, exercising an extensive authority, they dispense life and death, good and evil, light and darkness. Each nation and each individual find in these invisible agents a friend anxious to protect, or an enemy ardent to persecute them. They are clothed with an aërial body,^k and their essence is of a middle nature, between the divine and human.^l—They excel us in intelligence. Some are subject to like passions with us,^m and the greater part to changes by which they pass to a superior order; for the innumerable multitude

¹ Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32. Thales ap. eund. lib. 1. § 27. Id. ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 628. Id. ap. Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 11. t. iii. p. 145. Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 899.

^k Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 431.

^l Id. ibid. p. 415.

^m Id. ibid. p. 416.

of spirits is divided into four principal classes : the first is that of the gods, who are the objects of adoration, and who reside in the stars ; the second, that of the genii, properly so called ; the third, that of the heroes, who, during their lives, have rendered great services to mankind ; and the fourth, that of the souls of men after they are separated from their bodies. We decree to the three former classes honours in which we ourselves shall one day participate, and which will raise us successively to the dignities of heroes, genii, and gods.^a

Euclid, who understood no better than I the motives for these promotions, added, that certain genii were, like us, a prey to inquietudes, and, like us, subjected to death.^o I asked him what duration had been assigned to their life. According to Hesiod, answered he, the genii live several thousand years ; and, according to Pindar, a hamadryad dies with the tree in which it is enclosed.^p

Sufficient attention, replied I, has not been paid to this most interesting subject : it would, however, be of importance could we learn the degree of authority which these intelligences exercise over us. Perhaps we ought to attribute to them many effects, of the causes of which we are ignorant : they are perhaps the

^a Hesiod. ap. Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 415. Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. c. 22.

authors of many unforeseen events, both in games of chance, and in political affairs. I confess I am disgusted with the history of men, and could wish that of these invisible beings might be written. Here comes one, answered Euclid, who can furnish you with excellent materials for such a work.

The Pythagorean Telesicles entering at the same moment, informed himself of the subject of our conversation, and seemed surprised that we had never seen any genii.⁹ It is true, said he, they only manifest themselves to souls who have been long prepared by meditation and prayer.—He afterwards confessed that his own sometimes honoured him with his presence; and that, yielding one day to his repeated intreaties, he had conveyed him into the region of spirits. Condescend, said I, to relate to us the circumstances of your journey: I conjure you *in the name of him who taught the powers of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4.*^r* Telesicles immediately complied with my request, and began as follows:

The moment of departure being arrived, I felt my soul disengaged from the bonds which unite it to the body, and found myself in the

⁹ Aristot. ap. Apul. de Deo Socrat. t. ii. p. 83.

^r Iamblich. cap. 28. p. 127; cap. 29. p. 138. Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 47. Hierocl. ibid. p. 179.

* That is to say, *in the name of Pythagoras*. I have given the form of adjuration in use among the disciples of that great man, who discovered the harmonical proportions in these numbers.

midst of a new world of animated substances, good and malevolent,^{*} cheerful and melancholy, prudent and rash. We followed them for some time ; and I thought I could perceive that they directed the interests of states and those of individuals, the inquiries of sages, and the opinions of the multitude.[†]

Presently, a female figure, of gigantic stature, extended a sable pall over the vault of heaven ; and, having slowly descended to the earth, gave her orders to her attendants who followed her. We entered several houses where Sleep and his ministers were profusely shedding their poppies ; and while Silence and Peace were softly seated near the virtuous man, Remorse and terrifying spectres violently shook the bed of the villain. Plato wrote as the genius of Homer dictated to him, and pleasing dreams fluttered around the youthful Lycoris.

Aurora and the Hours, said my conductor to me, now unbar the gates of day ; it is time for us to rise into the air. Behold the tutelary genii of Athens, Corinth, and Lacedæmon, who hover on the wing, and fly in circles above those cities.[‡] They drive away from them, as far as

^{*} Thal. Pythag. Plat. ~~ap.~~ Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. ii. p. 882.

[†] Moshem. in Cudw. cap. 4. § 34. p. 798. Bruck. t. i. p. 1113.

[‡] Pausan. lib. 8. cap. 10. p. 620. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 35.

is in their power, the evils by which they are menaced. Yet soon shall their fields be laid waste ; for the genii of the south, enveloped in gloomy clouds, advance with hoarse clamours against those of the north.—Wars are as frequent in these regions as on earth ; and the combat of the Titans and the Typhons was only a contest between two tribes of genii.*

Now observe those busy agents who, with a flight as rapid and restless as that of the swallow, skim the earth, and cast on every side their eager and piercing eyes. These are the inspectors of human affairs, some of whom diffuse gentle influences over the mortals they protect,^y while others let loose the implacable Nemesis to punish the guilty.^z Behold those mediators, those interpreters, who ascend and descend incessantly : they convey to the gods the vows and offerings of men, and bring back to earth happy or ill-boding dreams, and the secrets of futurity,^a which are afterwards revealed to mankind by the oracles.

O my protector ! suddenly exclaimed I ; see yonder are beings whose stature and gloomy appearance inspire terror : they are coming towards us. Let us fly them, said he ; they are

* Plut. de Isid. t. ii. p. 360. Id. de Orac. Defect. p. 421.

^y Id. ibid. p. 417. Hesiod. ibid.

^z Tim. Locr. in Oper. Plat. t. iii. p. 105.

^a Plut. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202 et 203. Plut. de Isid. t. ii. p. 361. Id. de Orac. Def. p. 416. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 32.

wretched spirits, the happiness of others irritates them, and they only spare those who pass their lives in sufferings and in tears.^b

Escaped from their fury,^c we met with other objects not less afflicting. Ate, the detestable Ate, the eternal source of the dissensions which torment men, fiercely stalked above their heads, and breathed into their hearts rage and vengeance;^e while, with a timid step and down-cast eyes, the Prayers followed in her footsteps, and endeavoured to restore peace wherever Discord had appeared.^d Glory was followed by Envy, who at the same time gnawed her own sides; Truth by Imposture, who every instant changed her mask; and each virtue by several vices who carried nets or poniards.

On a sudden, Fortune appeared. I congratulated her on the gifts which she distributed to mortals. I give not, said she, in a stern tone; but I lend at great interest.^e As she uttered these words, she dipped the flowers and fruits which she held in one hand into a cup of poison which she carried in the other.

Two powerful divinities then passed us, who left behind them long streams of light. These, said my conductor, are the impetuous Mars

^b Xenocr. ap. Plat. de Isid. t. ii. p. 561.

^c Homer. Iliad. lib. 19. v. 91.

^d Id. Ioid. lib. 9. v. 500.

^e Bion ap. Stob. Serm. 103. p. 563.

and the wise Minerva. Two armies are approaching each other in Bœotia: Minerva hastens to take her station by the side of Epaminondas, the general of the Thebans; and Mars flies to join the Lacedæmonians, who will be vanquished; for wisdom must ever triumph over valour.

Observe, at the same time, yon pair of genii who precipitately descend to earth. The one is a good, and the other an evil genius; they hasten to exert their power on a new-born infant: in this first moment of his existence they will contend with each other to give him all the good qualities or all the deformities of which the heart and mind are capable: and in the course of his life he will incline to good or evil, as the influence of the one shall prevail over that of the other.^f

In the mean time, I beheld beings ascend and descend whose features appeared to me more gross than those of the genii. I was informed that these were souls which were about to be united to, or which had lately quitted, mortal bodies. On a sudden there appeared numerous swarms of them, which followed each other at intervals, and spread themselves through the wide fields of air, like clouds of a whitish dust.

^f Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 474. Xenocr. et Plat. ap. eund. de Orac. Def. p. 419. Van Dale de Orac. p. 6.

The battle is begun, said the genius ; the blood flows in torrents. O blind and wretched mortals ! Behold the souls of the Lacedæmonians and Thebans who perish in the fields of Leuctra ! Whither are they going ? said I. Follow me, answered he, and you shall know.

We passed the boundaries of the empire of darkness and of death ; and, having proceeded beyond the sphere of the moon, arrived at the regions which are enlightened by eternal day. Let us stop a moment, said my guide. Survey the magnificent scene which surrounds us, and listen to the divine harmony that is produced by the regular motion of the heavenly bodies.^a Observe how each planet and each star is attended by a genius which directs its course. These stars are inhabited by sublime intelligences of a nature superior to ours.

While, fixing my eyes on the sun, I contemplated, with ravishing delight, the genius whose vigorous arm propels that resplendent globe along the path which it describes,^b I saw him repulse with fury the greater part of the souls which we had met, permitting only a small number of them to plunge into the boiling waves of that luminary.^c These latter, said

^a Iambl. de Vit. Pythag. cap. 15. p. 52. Empedocl. ap. Porphy. de Vit. Pythag. p. 35.

^b Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 819.

^c Porphy. de Abstin. lib. 4. § 10. p. 329. Bruck. t. i. p. 296.

my guide, are less guilty than the others, and will be purified by the flame; after which they will wing their way to the different stars, in which they were distributed at the time of the formation of the universe, where they will remain until the laws of nature recal them to the earth to animate other bodies.^k But what, said I, shall be the destiny of those whom the genius has repulsed? They, answered he, must repair to the Field of Truth, where just judges will condemn the most criminal to the torments of Tartarus,^l and the others to long and painful peregrinations. Then, directing my eyes, he showed me millions of souls who, for thousands of years, had wandered mournfully in the air, and exhausted themselves in vain efforts to obtain an asylum in one of the celestial globes.^m These, said he, can only arrive, like the first, at the place of their origin, after severe trials.ⁿ

Filled with commiseration at their sufferings, I intreated my guide to remove me from the sight of them, and conduct me toward a distant part of the heavens, whence issued rays of a most resplendent light. I hoped to obtain a glimpse of the sovereign of the universe, surrounded by the attendants of his throne, which our philosophers call numbers, eternal ideas, and

^k Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

^l Axioch. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 371.

^m Empedocl. ap. Plut. de Vitand. Ære Alien. t. ii. p. 830.
ⁿ Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 42.

Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 77.

immortal genii.^o He inhabits, said the genius, a region inaccessible to mortals; offer to him your adoration, and let us descend to the earth.

After Telesicles had retired, I said to Euclid, By what name are we to call the discourse we have just heard? Is it a dream, or is it a fiction? It is certainly one or the other, answered he; but, in fact, Telesicles has advanced scarcely any thing which is not conformable to the opinions of the philosophers. We must do him justice: he might, by adopting those of the multitude, considerably have increased the population of the air; and have spoken concerning those shades which the art of diviners and sorcerers raises up from the recesses of the tomb;^p of those unhappy souls which hover disquieted around their bodies deprived of burial; and of those gods and phantoms which roam the streets during the night to terrify or to devour children.^q

I am obliged to him for this moderation, replied I: but I could wish that he had enlarged somewhat more on the nature of that beneficent being to which I appertain; and which, as has been said, God has appointed to watch over my thoughts and actions.^r Why am I not

^o Anonym. de Vit. Pythag. ap. Phot. p. 1316. Beausobr. Hist. du Munich. t. i. p. 576.

^p Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 37.

^q Plat. de Rep. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 381. Theocr. Idyl. 15. v. 40.

^r Plat. de Leg. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 903 et 906.

permitted to know and to love him? Telesicles has already answered your question, replied Euclid. The happiness of seeing the genii is only permitted to pure souls. I have, however, heard, said I, of apparitions that have been seen by a whole people. Undoubtedly, answered Euclid; and of this kind was that, the tradition of which is still preserved in Italy, and which has been made the subject of a painting that I myself have seen. The tale is a tissue of absurdities; but it will at least show to what an extravagant length imposture and credulity have sometimes been carried.

Ulysses having landed at Temesa, a town of the Brutii, one of his companions, named Polites, was murdered by the inhabitants, who soon after suffered all the scourges of celestial vengeance. The oracle being consulted, commanded them to appease the genius of Polites, to erect a sacred edifice to his honour, and annually to offer to him the most beautiful virgin to be found in the country. They obeyed, and their calamities ceased. — Towards the sixty-sixth Olympiad, a famous athleta, named Euthymus, arrived at Temesa, at the time when one of these unhappy victims was to be carried into the temple. He obtained permission to follow her; and, enamoured of her charms, asked her if she would consent to marry him if he should deliver her. She consented: the

genius appeared; and, being overpowered by the superior strength of the athleta, renounced the tribute which he had received during seven or eight centuries, and hastened to precipitate himself into the neighbouring sea.*

* Strab. lib. 6. p. 255. Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 6. p. 467.

CHAP. LXV.

Continuation of the Library.—History.

THE next day Euclid, seeing me arrive early, said to me, You give me new courage; I had feared that you had been disgusted by the length of our last conversation. To-day we will turn our attention to history, and we shall not be retarded in our progress by opinions and precepts. Many authors have written history; but no one has yet treated on the manner in which it ought to be written, and the style suitable to historical narration.¹

We shall place at the head of these authors Cadmus, who lived about two centuries since. His work is an illustration of the antiquities of Miletus, his country,² and was abridged by Bion of Proconnesus.³

From the time of Cadmus we have an uninterrupted succession of historians. Among the most ancient, I shall name Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemos of Paros, and Democles of Pygela.⁴ When I read these authors, answered I, I was not only disgusted

¹ Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 15. t. i. p. 206.

² Suid. in Κάδμ.

³ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 752.

⁴ Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 818.

at the absurd fables which they relate, but rejected all the facts they record, except those to which they had themselves been witnesses. For, in fine, since they were the first who transmitted them to us, from what sources did they derive their knowledge?

They found them, replied Euclid, in tradition, which from age to age preserves the memory of the revolutions that have afflicted mankind; in the writings of poets, who have eternalised the glory of heroes, the genealogies of sovereigns, and the origin and emigrations of various nations;² in those long inscriptions which record treaties between states;³ and the registers of the succession of the priests, preserved in the principal temples of Greece.^b * They found them also in the festivals, statues, altars, and edifices, consecrated on account of certain events, the memory of which the places and ceremonies seemed annually to renew.

It is true that the narrative of these events became gradually loaded with marvellous circumstances, and that our first historians adopted without examination this confused mass of truth and

² Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vi. p. 165.

³ Tacit. Ann. 4. cap. 43.

^b Thucyd. lib. 2. cap. 2. Schol. ibid. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. 1. t. i. p. 181. Polyb. Excerpt. p. 50. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 394.

* See in Chap. XLI. of this work (Vol. IV. p. 76.) the account of Amyclæ; and, in Chap. LIII. (Vol. IV. p. 297.) that of Argos.

error. But, soon after, Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Hecataeus, Xanthus, Helanicus, and others, discriminated with better judgement; and, though they did not entirely restore order to the chaos, they at least gave the example of contemning as they merited the fictions of the first ages.

Here is the work in which Acusilaus has given the genealogies of the ancient royal families.^c He goes back to the ages before the war of Troy, and even as far as Phoroneus king of Argos. I know it, answered I; and I laughed heartily when I found that author and those who followed him called Phoroneus the first of mortals.^d Acusilaus, however, deserves our lenity; if he makes the origin of the human race too modern, he removes back that of Love, whom he considers as one of the most ancient of the gods, and represents as born with the world.^e

A short time after Acusilaus, said Euclid, flourished Pherecydes of Athens, or rather of Leros, one of the Sporade islands.^f He has collected the traditions relative to the history of Athens, and, occasionally, to that of the neighbouring states.^g His work contains interesting details, such as the founding of several cities,

^c Suid. in *Ἀκουσίλ.*

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 380. Solon. ap. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22.

^e Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 178.

^f Salm. in Plin. p. 846. Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 445. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 67.

^g Suid. in *Φερ.* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. passim.

and the emigrations of the first inhabitants of Greece.^b His genealogies have a defect which, in the origin of societies, rendered a family illustrious. After they have been carried back to the most remote ages, the knot is solved by the intervention of some divinity. Thus, for example, we are told that Orion was the son of Neptune and Euryale, and Triptolemus the son of Ocean and the Earth.^c

About the same time appeared Hecataeus of Miletus, and Xanthus of Lydia, who both acquired a reputation enfeebled but not destroyed by the labours of others. The former, in his history and his genealogies, undertakes to illustrate the antiquities of the Greeks, which he sometimes examines critically, and rejects the marvellous. He begins his work as follows: "Hecataeus of Miletus is the author of this history: I have written what to me appeared to be true. The Greeks, in my opinion, have related many things which are contradictory and ridiculous."^d Should we imagine that, after this introduction, he would have attributed the power of speech to the ram which carried Phrixus to Colchis?^e

The subject of history had hitherto been confined to Greece; Hecataeus extended its limits

^b Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. t. i. p. 35.

^c Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 1. p. 15 et 17.

^d Demet. Phal. de Elocut. cap. 12.

^e Mem. de l'Acad. des Beaux Lettres. t. vi. p. 478.

to Egypt, and other countries till then unknown.^m His description of the earth threw a new light on geography,ⁿ and furnished materials to the historians who have followed him.^o

Here is the history of Lydia by Xanthus, an accurate writer, and extremely well acquainted with the antiquities of his country.^p Near it are several works which Hellanicus of Lesbos has published on the different nations of Greece.^q This author, who died in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war,^r * is sometimes defective from want of method, and too great brevity; but he closes with honour the list of our earliest historians.

All these writers have confined themselves to the history of a single city or state, and all were ignorant of the art of connecting in one series the events which have passed in the different nations of the earth, and forming one regular whole from such a number of detached parts. Herodotus had the merit of conceiving and executing this grand idea. He unfolded to the eyes of the Greeks the annals of the known world; and presented to them, in one point

^m Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 143. • Agathem. de Geogr. lib. 1. cap. 1.

ⁿ Strab. lib. 1. p. 1 et 7; lib. 6. p. 271; lib. 12. p. 550.

^o Porph. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. cap. 3. p. 466.

^p Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. tit. i. p. 73.

^q Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 7; lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 448.

^r Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxix. p. 70.

* About the year 410 before Christ.

^s Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 97.

of view, whatever memorable transactions had passed during a space of about two hundred and forty years.ⁱ Then was seen, for the first time, a succession of images, which, placed by the side of each other, only became more terrifying; nations were beheld ever disquiet and in motion, though jealous of their tranquillity; disunited by interest, and connected by war; sighing for liberty, and groaning under tyranny; every where guilt was seen triumphant, virtue persecuted, the earth deluged with blood, and the empire of destruction established from one end of the world to the other. But the hand which depicted these scenes knew so well to soften the horror of them by the charms of colouring and agreeable images; to the beauties of the design added such grace, harmony, and variety; and so frequently excited that sweet sensibility which rejoices in good and laments evil,ⁱⁱ that the work of Herodotus was considered as one of the noblest productions of the human mind.

Permit me here to venture a reflexion. It seems that, in literature as in the arts, men of abilities have first entered the lists, and struggled for some time against difficulties. After these have exhausted their efforts, a man of genius arises, and forms a model which passes all the

ⁱ Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Judic. t. v. p. 820.

ⁱⁱ Id. Epist. ad Porf. p. t. vi. p. 774.

boundaries before known. This is what Homer did for the epic poem, and what Herodotus has done for general history. Those who shall come after the latter may distinguish themselves by the beauties of narrative, or more luminous criticism ; but in the conduct of the work, and the connexion of facts, they will doubtless seek less to surpass than to equal him.

As to the circumstances of his life, it will be sufficient to observe that he was born in the city of Halicarnassus in Caria, about the fourth year of the seventy-third Olympiad ;^{*} that he travelled into the greater part of the countries of which he intended to write the history ; that his work, read in the assembly at the Olympic games, and afterwards in that of the Athenians, was received with universal applause ;[†] and that, when forced to leave his country, which was rent by factions, he went to end his days in a city of Magna Græcia.[‡]

In the same age lived Thucydides, younger than Herodotus by about thirteen years.^a He was of one of the first families of Athens.^b Placed at the head of a body of troops, he for

^{*} Scalig. ad Euseb. p. 102. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 157.

[†] About the year 484 before Christ.

[‡] Lucian. in Herodot. t. i. p. 833. Euseb. Chron. p. 169. Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 862.

^a Suid. in 'Herodot.

^b Pamph. ap. Aul. Gell. lib. 15. cap. 23.

^c Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

some time held in awe the forces of Brasidas, the most able general of Lacedæmon;^c but the latter having surprised the city of Amphipolis, Athens revenged on Thucydides a misfortune which it was not in his power to prevent.

During his banishment from his native country, from which he was absent twenty years,^d he collected materials for the history of the Peloponnesian war, and spared neither pains nor expense to make himself acquainted, not only with the causes which produced it, but also with the particular interests by which it was continued.^e He visited the different inimical states, and every where consulted the principal persons in the government, the generals, the soldiers; and was himself a witness to the greater part of the events he proposed to relate. His history, which comprises the first one-and-twenty years of that fatal war, is strongly characterised by his love of truth, and his disposition, which inclined him to reflexion. Some Athenians, who had seen him after his return from exile, have assured me that he was naturally very serious, thinking much and speaking little.^f

He was more desirous to instruct than to please, and to arrive at the end he had proposed

^c Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 107.

^d Id. lib. 5. cap. 26.

^e Marcell. Vit. Thueyd.

^f Idem.

than to wander from it by digressions :^g his work therefore is not, like that of Herodotus, a species of poem, in which we find the traditions of different nations concerning their origin, the analysis of their manners and customs, the description of the countries they inhabit, and marvellous narratives which awaken and interest the imaginations ; but contains the annals, or rather the memoirs, of a soldier, who, at once a statesman and a philosopher, has intermingled in his narrations and his harangues the principles of wisdom which he had learned from Anaxagoras, and the lessons of eloquence which he had received from the orator Antiphon.^h His reflexions are often profound, and always just : his style, which is energetic, concise, and therefore sometimes 'obscure,' at intervals offends the ear ; but it continually commands attention, and it may be said that its harshness gives it majesty.^k If this estimable author employs obsolete expressions or novel words, it is because a mind like his can rarely accommodate itself to a language which is spoken by every body. It has been alleged that Herodotus, from personal reasons, has related traditions which are

^g Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 22. Quintil. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 634.

^h Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

ⁱ Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13 et 22. t. i. p. 204 et 214. Id. de Clar. Orat. cap. 83. t. i. p. 406. Id. Orat. cap. 9. p. 426. Dionys. Halic. de Thucyd. Jud. t. vi. p. 867.

^k Demetr. Phaler. de Eloc. cap. 48 et 49.

injurious to certain nations of Greece.¹ Thucydides has only slightly mentioned his banishment, and that without defending himself, or complaining of his fate ;^m and has represented Brasidas, whose glory eclipsed his own, and whose success occasioned his disgrace, as a truly great man. The history of Thucydides was excellently continued by Xenophon, with whom you have been acquainted.ⁿ

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, will no doubt be considered by posterity as the most eminent of our historians, though they differ essentially in their style. And, especially, added I, in the manner in which they severally viewed objects. Herodotus every where beholds a jealous divinity, who follows men and empires to the highest point of their elevation, to precipitate them into the abyss ;^o Thucydides only sees, in each reverse of fortune, the errors of the chiefs of the state, or the generals of the army ; while Xenophon almost constantly attributes all good or ill success to the favour or the anger of the gods. Thus, according to the first, all human affairs depend upon fatality ; according to the second, on prudence ; and, according to the third, on piety towards the gods. So true is it, that we are naturally disposed to refer every thing to a favourite system.

¹ Plut. de Herod. Malign. t. ii. p. 854.

^m Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 26. ⁿ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. p. 423.

^o Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 32 ; lib. 3. cap. 40, &c.

Euclid continued: Herodotus had given the first sketch of the history of the Assyrians and Persians. His errors have been detected by an author who was better acquainted than he was with those two celebrated nations; I mean Ctesias of Cnidus, who lived in our time. He was physician to king Artaxerxes, and resided a long time at the court of Susa.^p He has communicated to us what he found in the archives of the empire,^q what he had seen, and what had been related to him by ocular witnesses.^r But if he is more accurate than Herodotus, he is inferior to him in style; though his likewise has many beauties,^s and is especially distinguished by its great perspicuity.^t Among many other works,^u Ctesias has bequeathed us a history of the Indies, in which he treats of the animals and natural productions of those distant climates; but, as he was not in possession of the best materials, the truth of his accounts begins to be doubted.^v

Here are the antiquities of Sicily, and the life of Dionysius the Elder, and that of his son, by

^p Phot. Bibl. p. 105.

^q Diod. Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.

^r Phot. Bibl. p. 108.

^s Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Lettr. t. vi. p. 176; t. xiv. p. 247.

^t Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 53.

^u Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 218.

^v Fabr. Bibl. Græc. t. 1. p. 881.

^w Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 8. cap. 28. t. i. p. 919. Id. de Gener. Animal. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 1076. Lucian. Ver. Hist. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 71.

Philistus,^a who died a few years since, after having seen the fleet dispersed which he commanded for the latter of those princes. Philistus possessed talents which have in some measure rendered him the rival of Thucydides;^a but he was a stranger to the virtues of Thucydides. He was a slave, who wrote only^a to flatter tyrants;^b and who, in every part of his work, shows that he was still more the friend of tyranny even than of tyrants.

I shall here conclude this enumeration, already too long. You will perhaps not find a single people, city, or even a celebrated temple, which has not had its distinct historian. A number of writers are at present employed in this species of composition. I shall name to you Ephorus and Theopompus, who have already distinguished themselves; two Bœotians; named Anaxis and Dionysiodorus, who have lately published the "history of Greece;"^c and Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who has given us that of the Greeks and Barbarians, from the birth of the human race to the death of Epaminondas.^d

So pompous a title, said I, would prejudice me against the work. Your chronology with

^a Suid. in *Φιλίστω*. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 397.

^b Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 205.

^c Dionys. Halic. de Prisc. Temp. t. v. p. 427. Tim. Ephor. ap. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 974.

^d Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403.

^e Id. ibid. p. 407.

difficulty extends to five or six centuries before the Trojan war; beyond which, time ends to you. If we except a small number of foreign nations, the rest of the earth is unknown to you. You perceive only a point in duration as in space; and yet this author pretends to inform you of what has been done in the most distant ages and countries!

When we are acquainted with the titles that the Egyptians and Chaldeans can produce to the antiquity which they claim, with what pity must we survey the imperfection and novelty of yours! How great was the surprise of the priests of Sais, when they heard Solon recount your traditions, and speak of the reign of Phoroneus, the deluge of Deucalion, and other similar epochas, so recent to them, though so ancient to him! "Solon, Solon," said one of these priests to him, "you Greeks are as yet only children."^e

Nor have they yet ceased to be so. Some require in a history only the charms of style, and others supernatural and puerile adventures.^f Others greedily devour those tiresome lists of unknown names, and uninteresting facts, which, supported by a long train of fables and prodigies, almost entirely compose your ancient history; that history over which Homer has diffused an eternal splendor, but which your

^e Plat. in Crit. t. iii. p. 22.

^f Isocr. in Palæthen. t. ii. p. 180.

chronicles have rendered insupportably wearisome and disgusting.

I could wish that henceforth your authors might only bestow their attention on the two or three last centuries, and that the ages preceding them should be abandoned to the poets. You have exactly expressed the idea of Isocrates, said Euclid. He had induced two of his disciples, Ephorus and Theopompus, to dedicate their labours entirely to history.^a Ephorus is slow, and incapable of laborious researches: Theopompus is active, ardent, and fitted for discussions.^b Isocrates has therefore recommended to the former to apply himself to ancient, and to the latter to write modern history.

At this very moment, Ephorus and Theopompus entered the library. Euclid, who had expected them, said to me, that they were to read to us some portions of the works on which they were then employed. They brought with them two or three of their friends, and Euclid had previously invited several of his. While we were waiting for these, the two historians told us that they had not wasted their time in endeavouring to elucidate the fictions of the ages preceding the war of Troy; and, professing the most ardent love of truth, added,

^a Cicer. de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 13. t. i. p. 205. Senec. de Tranquil. Anim. cap. 6. Phot. Biblioth. p. 1456.

^b Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 56. t. i. p. 205.

that it was to be wished that an author could be present at all the transactions which he undertakes to describe.*

I have proposed, said Ephorus, to write an account of the events which have passed among both Greeks and barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the present time, during the space of eight hundred and fifty years. In this work, which is divided into thirty books, each preceded by a poem,¹ will be found the origin of different nations, the foundation of the principal cities, their colonies, laws, manners, the nature of their climates, and the great men which they have produced.^m Ephorus concluded by acknowledging that the barbarous nations were more ancient than those of Greece;ⁿ and this confession prepossessed me in his favour.

This introduction was followed by the reading of a part of the eleventh book of his history, containing a description of Egypt. In it, instead of the different opinions which have been proposed concerning the inundation of the Nile,^o he has substituted one which is neither consonant to the laws of nature, nor the circumstances of that phenomenon.^p I sat near Euclid, and said

* Polyb. lib. 12. p. 669. Strab. lib. 9. p. 422.

¹ Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 209; lib. 16. p. 468.

^m Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488; lib. 9. p. 540. Strab. lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 10. p. 465.

ⁿ Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 9.

^o Theon. Progymn. p. 13.

^p Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 36.

to him, Ephorus knows nothing of Egypt, nor has he consulted those who are acquainted with that country.^a

I was soon convinced that this author was not extremely solicitous to be accurate; and that, too faithfully copying the greater part of those who had preceded him, he affected to embellish his narrative with the fables preserved in the traditions of nations, and the relations of travellers.^b

He appeared to me studiously to employ rhetorical figures. As the greater part of writers rank the orator above the historian, Ephorus imagined that he could not answer them better than by endeavouring successfully to unite both these species of writing.^c

Notwithstanding these defects, this work will always be considered as a valuable treasure, because every nation may separately find in it, in an admirable order, whatever interesting facts are relative to itself. The style of this history is pure, elegant, and ornamental;^d though too often studiously restricted to certain forms of harmonious construction,^e and almost always destitute of elevation and warmth.^f

^a Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 37.

^b Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 5. p. 244; lib. 9. p. 422. Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 7. cap. 16.

^c Polyb. lib. 12. p. 670.

^d Dionys. Halic. de Compos. Verb. t. v. p. 173.

^e Cicer. Orat. cap. 57. t. i. p. 469.

^f Suid. in "Εφερ. Dion Chrysost. Orat. 18. p. 256.

When Ephorus had ended, all eyes were turned towards Theopompus,¹ who began by speaking to us of himself. My father, Damostratus, said he, having been banished from the isle of Chios, his native country, for having shown too great an attachment to the Lacedæmonians, carried me with him into Greece; and, some time after, I came into the city, where I have unremittingly applied myself to the study of philosophy and eloquence.²

I have composed several discourses; I have visited different states, and spoken in their assemblies; and, after a long course of success, believe I may rank myself among the most eloquent men of the present age, and before the most eloquent of the last; for those who were then esteemed of the first class would now scarcely be admitted to a place in the second.³

Isocrates induced me to pass from the splendid track in which I had signalised myself, into that which has been rendered illustrious by the talents of Herodotus and Thucydides. I have continued the work of the latter.⁴ I am now employed on the life of Philip of Macedon;⁵ but, far from confining myself to describe the actions of that

¹ Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 1^o cap. 7. Bayle, art. Theopompe.

² Phot. Bibl. p. 392.

³ Id. ibid. p. 393.

⁴ Polyb. Excerpt. p. 26. Marcell. Vit. Thucyd.

⁵ Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 783.

prince, I shall connect with my narrative the history of almost all nations, with an account of their manners and their laws. My plan is different from that of Ephorus, but equally extensive.

After the example of Thucydides, I have spared no labour to obtain an accurate knowledge of facts. Many of the events which I relate have passed under my eyes; and, with respect to the others, I have consulted those who were actors in or witnesses of them.^d There is not a country of Greece which I have not visited,^e nor any where I have not formed connexions with those who directed its political or military operations. I am sufficiently rich not to regard expense, and too much the friend of truth to fear fatigue.^f

Such extravagant vanity prepossessed us against the author: but he soon entered so luminous a track, displayed such great knowledge of the affairs of Greece and other nations, such judgement in the distribution of facts,^g and such simplicity, perspicuity, elevation, and harmony, in his style,^h that we were compelled to lavish eulogiums on the man who of all others most deserved to be mortified.

He, however, continued to read, and our admiration began to cool. We were fatigued with

^d Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 783.

^e Phot. Bibl. p. 392.

^f Athen. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 85.

^g Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 782, &c.

^h Id. ibid. p. 786.

fables and incredible tales.¹ He told us that the man who, in despite of the prohibition of the gods, should be able to enter a certain temple of Jupiter in Arcadia, enjoyed during his whole life after an extraordinary privilege: his body, though exposed to the rays of the sun, cast no shadow.² He affirmed likewise, that, in the first years of the reign of Philip, the fig-trees, vines, and olives, in some cities of Macedonia, suddenly bore ripe fruits in the middle of spring; and that from that time the affairs of this prince continually prospered.³

His digressions are so frequent, that they fill nearly three-fourths of his work;^m and sometimes so long, that we forget at the end the subject from which they originated.ⁿ The harangues which he puts in the mouth of the generals, at the moment of battle, weary the patience of the reader, as they would have done that of the soldiers.^o

His style, which is more that of the orator than the historian, has great beauties and great defects.^p He is too solicitous respecting the arrangement, and too negligent in the choice, of

¹ Cicer. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 2. t. iii. p. 116. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 18.

² Polyb. lib. 16. p. 732.

³ Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 77.

^m Phot. Bibl. p. 393.

ⁿ Theon. Progymn. p. 34.

^o Plut. Præcept. Reip. Gerend. t. ii. p. 809.

^p Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. cap. 1. p. 634.

his words. We frequently see him torture his periods to give them roundness, or prevent the collision of vowels;^a while, at other times, he disfigures them by mean expressions and misplaced ornaments.^c

During the course of these readings, I had frequent occasion to remark the contempt in which the Greeks hold distant nations, or their ignorance concerning them. Ephorus had mistaken Iberia* for a city;^b and this error passed unnoticed. I had been informed by a Phœnician merchant who traded to Gadir, that Iberia is an extensive and populous country. Soon after, Theopompus, having mentioned the city of Rome, was requested to give some particulars relative to that city. It is situated in Italy, answered he: all I know of it is, that it was once taken by a nation of the Gauls.^d

These two authors having retired, that praise was bestowed on them which in several respects they had merited. One of the persons present, who wore the cloak of a philosopher, exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, Theopompus is the first who has cited the human heart to the tribunal of history! Observe with what superiority

^a Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 786. Quintil. lib. 9. p. 593.

^b Longin. de Subl. cap. 42. Demetr. Phal. de Eloc. cap. 75.

* Spain.

^c Joseph. in App. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 444.

^d Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5. t. i. p. 152.

of discernment he penetrates that profound abyss, and with what an impetuous eloquence he unfolds to us his fearful discoveries. Ever on his guard against actions that appear great and noble, he endeavours to detect the secrets of vice disguised under the mask of virtue."

I much fear, said I, that one day the poison of malignity will be discovered in his writings, concealed under the appearances of frankness and probity.* I cannot endure those morose minds who find nothing pure and innocent among men. He who incessantly suspects the intentions of others teaches me to distrust his own.

I was answered — An ordinary historian is contented to relate facts, but a philosophical historian ascends to their causes. For my part, I detest guilt, and wish to know the guilty man that I may pursue him with my hatred. But his guilt, said I, ought at least first to be proved. Little doubt can be made that he is guilty, replied my opponent, if the crime was to his interest. When the subject is a man who is devoted to ambition, I ought to discern in all his proceedings, not only what he has done, but what he intended to do; and much shall I be indebted to the historian who shall reveal to me

* Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

* Nep. in Alcib. cap. 11. Plut. in Lysand. t. i. p. 450. Joseph. in Appion. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 459.

the odious mysteries of that passion. How! said I; shall mere presumptions, which are not permitted to be alleged in a court of justice but in corroboration of stronger proofs, suffice in history to stigmatise the memory of a man with eternal opprobrium?

Theopompus appeared to be sufficiently accurate in his relations, but he is only a declaimer when he distributes censure or praise at his pleasure.—Does he treat of a passion, it must be enormous and atrocious. Does his subject lead him to speak of a man against whom he is prejudiced,⁷ he judges of his character by some actions, and of the rest of his life by his character. It would be much to be lamented that such impostors should have the reputations of others at their disposal.

It would be much more so, answered my opponent, with warmth, if it were not permitted to attack reputations unjustly acquired. Theopompus resembles those judges in the shades below, who distinctly read the hearts of the guilty; or those physicians who apply the knife and the caustic to the diseased limb, without injury to the sound parts.* He attends not to the source of vices till he is certain that it is poisoned. But why, replied I, does he contradict himself? He declares, in the beginning of his work, that he

⁷ Lucian. Quom. Hist. Conscrib. t. ii. p. 67.

² Dionys. Halic. Ep. ad Pomp. t. vi. p. 785.

only undertook it to render to Philip the homage due to the greatest man who has appeared in Europe; and soon after represents him as the most dissolute, unjust, and perfidious of mankind.^a Should Philip deign to cast a glance on him, he would see him meanly crouch at his feet.' As my antagonist exclaimed loudly at this charge, I added: Learn then that at this very moment Theopompus is employed in composing, in honour of Philip, a panegyric filled with flattery.^b Whom are we to believe on this head, —the historian or the philosopher?

Neither, replied Leocrates, a literary friend of Euclid, who, having applied himself to the study of politics and morals, entertained a contempt for history. Acusilaus, said he, has been convicted of falsehood by Hellanicus, and the latter by Ephorus, whose mistakes will, no doubt, hereafter be detected by others. New errors are every day discovered in Herodotus, nor is Thucydides himself exempt from them.^c The ignorance and prejudice of writers, and the uncertainty of facts, both in their causes and circumstances, are some of the vices which are inherent in this species of composition.

But, on the other hand, replied Euclid, does it not present us with great authorities in politics, and great examples in morals? To history are

^a Polyb. Except. p. 21 et 22. Athen. lib. 6. p. 260; lib. 10. p. 439, &c.

^b Theon. Progymn. p. 15 et 77.

^c Joseph. in Appion. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 489.

the states of Greece incessantly obliged to have recourse, to ascertain their respective rights, and terminate their differences; in history each republic finds the titles of its power and its glory; and to the testimony of history our orators incessantly recur, to instruct us in our true interests. As to the science of morals, are all its numerous precepts to be compared with the illustrious examples of Aristides, Socrates, and Leonidas?

Our authors sometimes differ, when their subject relates to our ancient chronology, or when they speak of foreign nations. With respect to these articles I am willing to give them up; but since our wars with the Persians, when our history properly begins, our annals are the precious depositary of that experience which each age bequeaths to the ages that shall come after it.^d Peace, war, taxes, and all the different branches of government, are discussed in our general assemblies, and these deliberations are preserved in the public records. The relations of great events are found in all writings, and repeated by every mouth.—Our victories and our treaties are engraved on monuments exposed to every eye. What author would dare to contradict such public and authentic testimonies?

You will perhaps allege, that our writers sometimes differ concerning the circumstances of a fact. But of what importance is it whether at

^d Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 22.

the battle of Salamis the Corinthians behaved well or ill?° However this question may be decided, it is not less true that at Salamis, at Plataea, and at Thermopylae, some few thousand Greeks made resistance against millions of Persians; and that then was displayed, perhaps for the first time, that great and illustrious truth, that the love of our country is capable of giving birth to actions which seem to be above the powers of human nature.

History is a theatre on which politics and morals appear in action. Youth from it receives those first impressions which sometimes are decisive of their future destiny. We must therefore present to them the noblest models to follow, and inspire them with horror for false heroism. Sovereigns and nations may derive from history important lessons: the historian therefore should be as inflexible as justice, of which he is to maintain the rights,—and as sincere as truth, of which he professes himself the organ. So august are his functions, that they ought only to be exercised by men of acknowledged integrity, and under the inspection of a tribunal no less severe than that of the Areopagus. In a word, said Euclid, as he concluded, the utility of history can only be impaired by those who know not how to write it, nor doubted of but by those who know not how to read it.

CHAP. LXVI.

On the Proper Names in use among the Greeks.

PLATO has written a treatise in which he has ventured to give several etymologies of the names of heroes, genii, and gods.^f In it he has indulged in liberties of which this species of research is but too susceptible. Encouraged by his example, though less adventurous, I shall here give some remarks on the proper names in use among the Greeks. They were accidentally introduced in the two conversations, the substance of which I have just related. Digressions of another kind having, at the same time, more than once directed our attention to the philosophy and death of Socrates, I obtained information of several particulars relative to that philosopher, of which I shall make use in the following chapter.

Proper names are distinguished into two kinds, simple and compound. Among the former there are some which derive their origin from certain relations which have been imagined

^f Plat. in Cratyl. t. i. p. 383.

between such a man and such an animal ; as, for example, *Leon, the lion ; Lycos, the wolf ; Moschos, the calf ; Corax, the raven ; Sauros, the lizard ; Batrachos, the frog ;*^a *Alectryon, the cock, &c.*^b There are also some which appear to have been derived from the colour of the complexion ; as *Argos, the white ; Melas, the black ; Xanthos, the fair ; Pyrrhos, the red.**

Sometimes a child receives the name of a divinity with a slight inflexion. Thus Apollonios is derived from Apollo ; Poseidonios from Poseidon, or Neptune ; Demetrios from Demeter, or Ceres ; Athenæus from Athene, or Minerva.

The compound names are more numerous than the simple. If parents believe they have, by their prayers, obtained the birth of a son who is the hope of their family, they add to the name of the protecting divinity, slightly changed, the word *doron*, or gift. And hence the names Theodorus, Diodorus, Olympiodorus, Hypatodorus, Herodorus, Athenodorus, Hermodorus, Hephaestodorus, Heliodorus, Asclepiodorus, Cephisodorus, &c. ; that is to say, the gift of the gods, of Jupiter, of the god of Olympus, of the Most High, of Juno, of Minerva, of Mercury, of Vulcan, of the Sun, of Æsculapius, of the river Cephisus, &c.

^a Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 731.

^b Homer. Iliad. lib. 17. v. 602.

* Argos is the same as Argus, Pyrrhos as Pyrrhus ; the Latins have terminated in us the proper names which among the Greeks ended in os.

Some families pretend to be descended from the gods; and hence the names Theogenes, or Theagenes, *born of the gods*; Diogenes, *born of Jupiter*; Hermogenes, *born of Mercury*, &c.

It is an observation deserving attention, that the greater part of names found in Homer are marks of distinction. They were given in honour of the qualities most esteemed in the heroic ages, as valour, strength, swiftness, prudence, and other virtues. From the word *polemos*, which signifies war, have been formed, Tlepo-lemus,ⁱ that is, *able to support the labours of war*;^k and Archeptolemus,^l or *able to direct the labours of war*.

By adding to the word *mache*, or battle, certain prepositions, and different parts of speech, which may modify the sense in a manner always honourable, are composed the names Amphimachus, Antimachus, Promachus, Telemachus. Proceeding in the same manner with the word *henorea*, strength, or intrepidity, we have Agapenor, *he who esteems valour*;^m Agenor, *he who directs it*; Prothoenor, *the first for courage*;ⁿ and a number of others, as Alegenor, Antenor, Elephenor, Euchenor, Pesenor, Hypsenor, Hyperenor, &c. From the word *damao*, I tame, or con-

ⁱ Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 657.

^k Etymol. Magn. in Τλή.

^l Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 128.

^m Id. lib. 2. v. 608. Schol. in lib. 8. v. 114.

quer, are formed Demastor, Amphidamas, Chersidamas, Iphidamas, Polydamas, &c.

From *thoos*, swift, are derived the names Areithoos, Alcathoos, Panthoos, Pirithoos, &c. From *noos*, mind or intelligence, Astynooos, Arsinoos, Autonoos, Iphinoos, &c. From *medos*, counsel, Agamedes, Eumedes, Lycomedes, Perimedes, Thrasympedes. From *cleos*, glory, Amphicles, Agacles, Bathycles, Doriclos, Echeolos, Iphiclos, Patroclus, Cleobulus, &c.

It hence follows that several individuals had then two names;^o that which their parents had given them, and that which they had merited by their actions; but the latter soon caused the former to be forgotten.

The titles of honour which I have mentioned, and many others that I omit, as Ormenos,^p *the impetuous*, Asteropeos,^q *the thunderer*, were transmitted to the children, to remind them of, and incite them to imitate, the great actions of their fathers.^r

These names still subsist; and, as they have passed into the different classes of citizens, they impose no obligation; there sometimes even results a singular contrast between their significations and the condition or character of those who have received them in their infancy.

^o Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 1. t. i. p. 124. Id. in lib. 2. p. 351.

^p Homer. Iliad. lib. 8. v. 274. ^q Id. ibid. lib. 17. v. 217.

^r Eustath. in Iliad. t. ii. p. 650. En. 35. Schol. Hom. in

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the lustre of his name, came to Athens ; I had been acquainted with him at Susa, and took him with me into the forum. We took our seats near several Athenians who were engaged in conversation. He asked me their names, and requested me to explain their meaning to him. The first, said I, is called Eudoxus, that is to say, *illustrious* or *honourable*. Immediately my friend the Persian made a profound reverence to Eudoxus. The second, continued I, is named Polycletus, which signifies *very celebrated*—another reverence still more profound. No doubt, said he to me, these two excellent persons are at the head of the republic. No such thing, replied I; they are of the lower class of people, and scarcely known. The third, who seems so weak, is called Agasthenes, or perhaps Megasthenes, *the strong*, or rather *very strong*. The fourth, who is so corpulent and unwieldy, is named Prothoos, a word which signifies *light of foot, he who passes others in the race*. The fifth, who appears so gloomy and melancholy, is named Epichares, *the cheerful*. And the sixth? said the Persian impatiently.—The sixth is Sostratus, or the *saviour of the army*.—He has then had the command of troops?—No, he has never served. The seventh, who is called Clitomachus, *illustrious warrior*, has constantly fled at the approach of the enemy, and has been branded with infamy. The

eighth is named Dicæus,^{*} *the just*.—Indeed!—Indeed he is the most notorious knave existing. The name of the ninth is Evelthon, or *the welcome*.[†]—My friend now abruptly rising, said to me, These people dishonour their names. But at least, replied I, it must be confessed that their names do not inspire them with vanity.

We find scarcely any degrading names in Homer. They are much more common at present, but considerably less so than might be expected among a people who are so ready to perceive and remark any kind of ridiculousness or defect.

^{*} Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65. Marmor. Nointel.

[†] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 162.

CHAP. LXVII.

Socrates.

SOCRATES was the son of a sculptor named Sophroniscus.^a He quitted the occupation of his father, after having followed it some time, and with success.^{* *} His mother Phenarete exercised the profession of a midwife.^y

Those beautiful proportions and elegant forms which the marble receives from the chisel suggested to him the first idea of perfection: and, this idea gradually becoming more exalted, he was convinced, that throughout the universe a general harmony between all its parts ought to prevail; and in man a just relation between his actions and his duties.

To expand these first conceptions, he exerted in every kind of study the ardour and inflexible pertinacity of a powerful mind, eager to obtain instruction. The examination of nature,^z the

^a Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 135. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 18.

^{*} Diog. Laërt. *ibid.* § 19. Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 53; lib. 9. cap. 35. p. 782. *Suët.* in *Σωκράτ.*

^y The statues of the three Graces, at the gate of the citadel of Athens, were the work of Socrates: they were veiled as they were then usually represented (Pausan. *ibid.*)

^z Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 149.

^b Id. in Phædon. t. i. v. 96.

accurate sciences,^a and the agreeable arts, by turns engaged his attention.

He lived at a time when the human mind seemed every day to discover new sources of knowledge. Two classes of men had undertaken the care of collecting and diffusing science: the philosophers, the greater part of whom passed their lives in meditating on the formation of the universe, and the essence of beings; and the sophists, who, possessed of a few superficial notions and an ostentatious eloquence, amused their hearers with discourses on every subject of morals and politics, without elucidating any.

Socrates frequented the conversation and lectures of both;^b he admired their talents, and derived information from their errors. During his attendance on the former, he perceived that the farther he advanced, the more the darkness thickened around him; and was convinced that Nature, who so readily grants us the knowledge really necessary to us, requires that which is of less utility to be extorted from her, and rigorously denies that which would only tend to satisfy a restless curiosity. Thus, judging of the importance of the different kinds of science by the degree of evidence or obscurity with which they are accompanied, he determined to renounce the study of first causes, and to reject

^a Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 814.

^b Plat. in Meñ. t. ii. p. 96. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 19.

those abstract theories which serve only to torment or mislead the mind.^c

If he considered the meditations of the philosophers as useless, the sophists appeared to him much more dangerous; since, by defending at pleasure every opinion without adopting any, they introduced the licentiousness of doubt into the truths most essential to the tranquillity of society.

From his ineffectual researches, he concluded that the only knowledge necessary to men is that of their duties, and the only occupation worthy of a philosopher that of instructing mankind in these duties; and, subjecting to the examination of reason the relations which exist between us, and the gods, and our fellow-creatures, he confined himself to that simple theology which numerous nations had peaceably followed during a long course of ages.

The supreme Wisdom preserves the universe which it has formed in an eternal youth;^d and though invisible in itself, is resplendently manifested in the wonders it operates. The gods extend their providence over all nature; and, present in every place, see and hear all things.^e Among the infinite number of beings which are the work of their hands, man,^f distinguished from other animals by eminent qualities, and especially by an

^c Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. p. 710; lib. 4. p. 815. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 21.

^d Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 8. p. 237. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 802.

^e Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 711 et 728.

understanding capable of conceiving the idea of the Deity, man was ever the object of their love and predilection.^f They speak to him incessantly by those sovereign laws which they have engraven on his heart—"Adore the gods; honour your parents; do good to those who do good to you."^g They speak to him likewise by their oracles, distributed over the earth, and by a multitude of prodigies and presages which are indications of their will.^h

Let us no longer, then, complain of their silence, nor allege that they are too exalted to stoop to our feebleness.ⁱ If their power raises them above us, their goodness brings them nearer to us. But what do they require? The worship established in each country;^k prayers which shall be confined to solicit, in general, their protection; and sacrifices in which the purity of the heart is more essential than the magnificence of the offerings: we must renounce life if the sacrifices of wicked men were more agreeable to them than those of the virtuous.^l They require still more, that we should honour and obey them; and to be useful to society is to obey them.^m The statesman, whose object is

^f Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 727; lib. 4. p. 800 et 802. Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62.

^g Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 807 et 808.

^h Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 708 et 709; lib. 4. p. 802.

ⁱ Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728.

^k Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803.

^l Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 722.

^m Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803.

the good of the people ; the labourer, who renders the earth more fertile ; and all those who, from a desire to please the gods, faithfully discharge their duties, render to the divine beings the most noble worship ;^a but this must be continual, for their favours are only the reward of fervent piety, accompanied with confidence.^b Let us undertake nothing of moment, without consulting them ; let us do nothing contrary to their commands ;^c and let us ever bear in mind that the presence of the gods enlightens and fills the most obscure and the most solitary places.^d

Socrates never explained his opinion on the nature of the Deity, but he always clearly expressed it on his existence and providence ; truths of which he was intimately convinced, and the only ones to which it was possible and of importance to attain. He acknowledged one God, the creator and preserver of the universe ;^e and under him inferior deities, formed by his hands, invested with a portion of his authority, and worthy of our veneration. Penetrated with the most awful respect for the Sovereign Being, he every where prostrated himself before him ; and every where honoured the subordinate divinities, by whatever name they were invoked, provided that no human frailties were attributed

^a Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 780. ^b Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 803.

^c Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 709. ^d Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 728.

^e Cudw. Syst. Intellect. cap. 4. § 23. Bruck. Hist. Philos.

to them, that their worship was free from superstitions, by which it must be disfigured; and that religion were divested of those fables which the philosophy of Pythagoras and Empedocles appeared to authorise.* Ceremonies may vary among different nations; but they ought all to be authorised by the laws, and to be accompanied by the purity of intention.*

He did not inquire into the origin of the evil which prevails in the moral as well as in the natural world: but he was acquainted with the good and evil which are the causes of the happiness and unhappiness of man; and on this knowledge he founded his system of morality.

The true good is permanent and unalterable; it fills without fatiguing the soul, and inspires it with profound tranquillity for the present, and absolute security for the future. It consists not, therefore, in the enjoyment of pleasures, power, health, riches, and honours; these advantages, and all those which most excite our desires, are not good in themselves, since they may be profitable or hurtful, according to the use which is made of them,† or the effects which they naturally produce: some of them are accompanied by the most painful sensations, and others followed by disgust and remorse; all are destroyed

* Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

† Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 803.

‡ Plat. in Meno t. ii. p. 88. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 4. p. 798.

as soon as they are abused, and we cease to enjoy when we fear to lose them.

Our ideas of the evils which we dread are not more just: there are some of them, as disgrace, sickness, and poverty, which, notwithstanding the terror they inspire, sometimes bring with them more real advantages than honours, riches, and health."

Thus, placed amid objects of the nature of which we are ignorant, our fluctuating and uncertain minds can only discern, by a dim light, what is good or evil, just or unjust, honourable or disgraceful;* and as all our actions are the effect of choice, and as this choice is the more blind the more it is important, we are incessantly in danger of falling into the snares by which we are surrounded. Hence so many contradictions in our conduct, such instability in our virtues, and so many systems of happiness which prove to be without foundation.

Yet have the gods granted us a guide to conduct us through these uncertain paths. This guide is wisdom; which is the greatest good, as ignorance is the greatest evil.[†] Wisdom is enlightened reason,[‡] which, divesting the objects of our hopes and fears of their false colours, shows them to us such as they are in themselves,

* Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 793 et 799.

† Plat. in Alcib. t. i. p. 117. Id. in Protag. t. i. p. 357.

‡ Id. in Euthyd. t. i. p. 281. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 31.

fixes our unsettled judgements, and determines our will by the sole force of evidence:

The man who is guided by this resplendent and pure light is just, because he is convinced that it is his interest to obey the laws, and to do no injury to any one;^a he is frugal and temperate, because he clearly perceives that excessive indulgence in pleasure is followed by the loss of health, reputation, and fortune;^b he possesses true courage, because he knows danger, and the necessity of braving it.^c His other virtues flow from the same principle, or rather they are only wisdom applied to the different circumstances of life.^d

It hence follows that all virtue is a science which is extended by exercise and meditation;^e and all vice an error, which, from its nature must produce all other vices.^f

This principle, still disputed among the philosophers, found opponents in the time of Socrates. It was objected that we have reason to complain of our weakness, but not of our ignorance; and that if we commit evil, it is not for want of knowing it to be such.^g You know it not, answered he; you would carefully shun it,

^a Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 803, 805, 806.

^b Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 353.

^c Xenoph. *ibid.* p. 812.

^d Id. lib. 3. p. 778; lib. 4. p. 812.

^e Id. *ibid.* lib. 2. p. 754. Aristot. de Mor. lib. 6. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 82. Id. Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 145.

^f Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 281. Id. in Protag. p. 357.

^g Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 352.

if you considered it as evil :^b but you prefer it to good, because it appears to you a still greater good.

It was replied : We condemn this preference which we give to it, both before and ~~and~~ after we are betrayed into it ;^c but there are moments in which the allurements of pleasure induce us to forget our principles, and shut our eyes to the consequences.* In fact, after all, how is it possible that we should vanquish those passions which enslave us in despite of ourselves ?

If you are slaves, replied Socrates, you ought no longer to imagine yourselves virtuous, or, by consequence, to expect happiness. Wisdom, which can alone bestow the latter, makes her voice be heard only by men who are free, or who labour to become so.^d To restore to you your liberty, she requires the sacrifice of those wants which were not given to you by nature. In proportion as you shall delight in and meditate on her lessons, you shall with ease shake off every yoke which can disturb or obscure the mind ; for it is not the tyranny of the passions which is to be feared, but that of ignorance, which delivers you into their hands by exaggerating their power : destroy the empire of the latter, and you will see those illusions which

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 358. Id. in *Men.* t. ii. p. 77.

^c Aristot. de *Mor.* lib. 7. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 86.

^d Plat. in *Protag.* p. 352 et 356.

^e Xenoph. *Memor.* lib. 4. p. 808.

dazzle you, and those confused and unstable opinions which you have mistaken for principles, instantly disappear. Then shall the splendor and beauty of virtue make such an impression on our souls, that they shall no longer be able to resist the sovereign charm by which they are attracted; then may it indeed be said that we have it not in our power to be wicked,^m because it will no longer be possible that we should prefer evil to good, nor even a smaller advantage to a greater.ⁿ

Intimately convinced of this doctrine, Socrates conceived the extraordinary and noble design of dissipating, if it were not too late, the errors and prejudices which are the unhappiness and disgrace of human nature. A simple individual, without rank, authority, or any interested view, was seen to undertake the dangerous and difficult task of instructing mankind, and conducting them to virtue by truth; he was seen to dedicate every moment of his life to this glorious ministry, to discharge it with all the zeal and moderation which an enlightened love of the public good inspires, and to support, as much as was in his power, the declining authority of the laws and of manners.

Socrates never sought to take a part in the administration of public affairs; he had more

^m Aristot. Magn. Mor. lib. 1. t. ii. cap. 9. p. 153.

ⁿ Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 358. Id. in Men. p. 77.

noble functions to fulfil. By forming good citizens, said he, I more effectually render to my country the service which I owe to it.²

As he wished not to make public his plans of reform, nor to precipitate their execution, he composed no works, nor did he affect to collect his hearers around him at stated times.³ But in the squares and public walks, in select companies, and among the lower ranks of people,⁴ he took advantage of the least opportunity to instruct in their true interests, the magistrate, the artisan, and the labourer: in a word, all his brethren,—for in this light he viewed all mankind.* The conversation, at first, only turned on indifferent things; but by degrees, and without their perceiving it, he induced them to give him an account of their conduct; and the greater part learned with surprise that, in each condition, happiness consists in being a good parent, a good friend, and a good citizen.⁵

Socrates did not flatter himself that his doctrines would be approved by the Athenians while the Peloponnesian war agitated all minds,

² Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 732.

³ Plut. An Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 796.

⁴ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 709. Plut. in Apol. t. i. p. 17.

⁵ Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 600. Cicero. Tuscul. lib. 5. cap. 37. t. ii. p. 392.

* Socrates said, I am a citizen of the world (Cicero. *ibid.*); Aristippus, I am a stranger every where (Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 736): these two expressions suffice to characterise the master and the disciple.

¹ Plut. in Lach. t. ii. p. 187.

and was the cause of the most extreme licentiousness ; but he presumed that their children, more docile, would transmit them to the succeeding generation.

These he attracted to himself by the charms of his conversation, and sometimes by becoming a companion in their pleasures, without participating in their excesses. One of these youths, named Æschines, after having heard him discourse, exclaimed—"Socrates, I am poor, but I give myself to you without reserve."—"You know not," answered Socrates, "what a noble present you have made me." His first care was to discover their true character. He assisted them by his questions to explain their own ideas, and compelled them by his answers to reject them. More accurate definitions gradually dispelled the false light they had received in their earlier education, and doubts acutely started redoubled their inquietude and curiosity ;^a for his art consisted in always bringing them to that point at which they could neither endure their ignorance nor their weakness.

Many, being unable to undergo this trial, and blushing at their situation, without having the fortitude to extricate themselves from it, forsook Socrates, who was not eager to recal them.* Others learned from their humiliation to distrust

^a Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 34.

^a Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 795.

^{*} Id. ibid. p. 799.

themselves, and from that instant he ceased to spread snares for their vanity:^y he spoke to them neither with the severity of a censor, nor the haughtiness of a sophist; he dealt not in harsh reproaches or importunate complaints; his discourse was the language of reason and friendship, in the mouth of virtue.

He laboured to form their minds, because each precept ought to have its principle; and exercised them in dialectics, that they might be enabled to combat against the sophisms of pleasure and the passions.^z

Never was any man less susceptible of jealousy. If his disciples wished to obtain a slight tincture of the sciences, he directed them to masters whom he believed more capable to instruct them than himself;^a or, if they desired to frequent other schools, furnished them with recommendations to the philosophers to whom they gave the preference.^b

His lessons were only familiar conversations, the subject of which was suggested by the circumstances of the moment. Sometimes he read to his scholars the writings of the sages who had preceded him:^c He repeatedly read them, because he knew that to persevere in the love of

^y Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 800.

^z Id. ibid. p. 810.

^a Id. ibid. p. 814.

^b Plat. in Theæt. t. i. p. 151. Epict. Enchir. cap. 46. Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 5. Simpl. in Epict. p. 311.

virtue it is often necessary to be convinced anew of those truths of which we have before been persuaded. Sometimes he discussed the nature of justice, knowledge, and the true good;^d then would he exclaim—"Detested be the memory of him who first dared to make a distinction between what is just and what is useful!"^e—At other times he pointed out to them, more at length, the relations that connect men with each other, and those between them and the objects by which they are surrounded.^f Submission to the will of parents, however rigid they may be; and still more implicit submission to the commands of our country, however severe;^g equality of mind in adversity and prosperity;^h the obligation men are under to render themselves useful to other men, and the necessity that they should continually be in a state of warfare against their own passions, and in a state of peace towards the passions of others; these were the points of doctrine which Socrates explained with equal perspicuity and precision.

Hence his discourses contained the elucidation of a multitude of ideas novel to his hearers, and abounded with maxims similar to the following, taken at random from among many

^d Xenoph. Memor. Plat. passim.

^e Cic. de Leg. lib. 1. cap. 12. t. iii. p. 126. Id. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 259.

^f Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 794.

^g Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 51. Id. in Protag. p. 346. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 741.

^h Stob. Sermon. 147. p. 234.

others which are still remembered; such as, that the fewer our wants the nearer we approach to the divine nature;ⁱ that idleness degrades, and not labour;^k that a look of complacency on beauty introduces a mortal poison into the heart;^l that the glory of the sage consists in being virtuous without affecting to appear so, and his pleasure in becoming still more virtuous from day to day;^m that it is better to die with honour than to live in ignominy; that we ought never to render evil for evil;ⁿ and, to conclude with one of those alarming truths on which he most frequently insisted, that it is the greatest of impostures to pretend to govern and conduct men without possessing the requisite abilities.^o

And, in fact, how was it possible that the presumption of ignorance should not have disgusted him who, after all his labours, and the knowledge to which he had attained, believed he had scarcely acquired the right of confessing that he knew nothing^p—he who beheld in the state the most important places obtained by intrigue, and confided to persons without knowledge or probity; in society and private families every principle obscured, and every^q duty misunderstood; and, among the youth of Athens, haughty and

ⁱ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 731.

^k Id. ibid. p. 720.

^l Id. ibid. p. 724.

^m Id. ibid. p. 730 et 732.

ⁿ Plat. in Crit. 4. i. p. 49.

^o Xenoph. ibid. p. 732.

^p Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. Id. in Theæt. t. i. p. 157.

frivolous minds, whose arrogant claims knew no bounds, and whose incapacity equalled their pride?

Socrates, ever attentive to destroy the high opinion which the latter entertained of themselves,^a read in the heart of Alcibiades the desire of being soon at the head of the republic, and in that of Critias the ambition one day to subject it. Both, distinguished by their birth and riches, sought to obtain knowledge, that they might afterwards make an ostentatious display of it before the people.^b But the former was the most dangerous, because he joined to these advantages the most amiable qualities. Socrates, after having obtained his confidence, forced him to confess, with tears, sometimes his ignorance, and sometimes his vanity; and in this confusion of sentiments the disciple declared that he could neither be happy with such a master, nor without such a friend. To avoid the force of his arguments, Alcibiades and Critias at length determined to shun his presence.^c

Success less splendid, but more durable, though it could not console him for this loss, recompensed his labours. To dissuade from engaging in public employments such of his disciples as had not yet acquired sufficient experience to discharge them properly,^d and to induce

^a Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 791. ^b Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 713.

others who declined them from indifference or modesty to accept them;^u to reconcile his pupils and his friends when divisions had taken place among them;^v to restore tranquillity to their families, and order to their affairs;^w to render them more religious, more just, and more temperate^z—such were the effects of that mild persuasion which he instilled into the minds^a of all who conversed with him; and such the pleasures which transported his beneficent heart.

These salutary effects were, however, less to be ascribed to his lessons than to his example.^b The following observations will show that it was difficult for any one to frequent his company without becoming better.^c Though born with the strongest inclination to vice, his whole life was the most exemplary model of virtue. It was with difficulty that he obtained the victory over the violence of his disposition, whether because this defect is the most difficult to correct, or because it is that which we most easily excuse, in ourselves. But at length his patience became invincible. The ill temper of Xanthippe his wife could not disturb the tran-

^u Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 774. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 29.

^v Xenoph. ibid. lib. 2. p. 743.

^w Id. ibid. p. 741 et 755.

^x Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803 et 808.

^z Id. ibid. p. 713; lib. 4. p. 814. Lucian. in Damonact. t. ii. p. 379.

quillity of his mind^d nor the serenity of his brows.^e He lifted his hand to strike his slave —“Ah !” said he, “if I were not angry !” and did not strike him.^f He had requested his friends to tell him when they perceived any alteration in his countenance or voice.^g

Though he was very poor, he received no salary for his instructions,^h and never accepted the offers of his disciples. Some rich individuals of Greece wished to prevail on him to live with them,ⁱ but he refused ; and when Archelaus king of Macedon offered him an establishment at his court, he refused him likewise, alleging that it was not in his power to return benefit for benefit.^k

He was not, however, negligent of his external appearance, though this bore the marks of the mediocrity of his fortune. His cleanliness resulted from those ideas of order and decency which governed all his actions ; and the care which he took of his health, from his desire to preserve his mind free and tranquil.^l

In those repasts in which pleasure sometimes

^d Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 30.

^e Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 26. t. iii. p. 203. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 7.

^f Senec. de Irâ, lib. 1. cap. 15.

^g Id. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 13.

^h Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712 et 729. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 19. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 27. ⁱ Id. ibid. § 25.

^k Senec. de Benef. lib. 5. cap. 6. Diog. Laërt. ibid.

^l Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 22.

proceeds to licentiousness, his friends admired his frugality,^m and in his conduct his enemies revered the purity of his manners.ⁿ

He made several campaigns, in all of which he gave noble examples of courage and obedience. He had long hardened himself against all the wants of nature and the inclemency of the seasons;^o and at the siege of Potidæa, when the severe cold kept the troops under their tents, he, without taking any precaution, still appeared in the same dress which he wore at every other time, and was seen to walk barefooted on the ice.^p The soldiers imagined that he intended to insult their effeminacy, but he would have done the same had no person seen him.

At the same siege, during a sally which the garrison made, having found Alcibiades covered with wounds, he snatched him from the hands of the enemy; and some time after procured the prize of bravery to be decreed to him, which he had himself merited.^q

At the battle of Delium he was among the last who retired, by the side of the general, whom he assisted with his advice, marching slowly, and

^m Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. 4p. 723. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 27.

ⁿ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 724.

^o Id. ibid. p. 711 et 729.

^p Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 220.

^q Id. ibid. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 194. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 23.

fighting as he retreated: till perceiving the youth Xenophon, exhausted with fatigue, and thrown from his horse, he took him on his shoulders, and conveyed him to a place of safety.^{*} Laches, his general, afterwards declared, that victory must have been certain if every soldier had behaved like Socrates.[†]

This courage did not forsake him on occasions perhaps still more perilous. Having been raised by lot to the rank of senator, he presided, in virtue of his office, with some other members of the senate, in the assembly of the people. The business before them was an accusation against some generals who had gained a signal victory. A sentence was proposed no less defective from its irregularity than oppressive of innocence. The multitude kindled into a rage at the least contradiction, and demanded that all who opposed the proceedings should be placed among the number of the accused. The other presidents were intimidated, and gave their approbation to the decree. Socrates alone, intrepid in the midst of clamours and menaces, protested that, having taken an oath to judge conformably to the laws, nothing should induce him to violate it, nor did he violate it.[‡]

^{*} Plat. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 221. Strab. lib. 9. p. 403. Diog. Laërt. in Socrat. § 22.

[†] Plat. in Lach. t. ii. p. 181.

[‡] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. t. i. lib. 1. p. 449. Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 711; lib. 4. p. 803.

Socrates frequently jested on the resemblance of his features to those which were attributed to the god Silenus.^u He had a pleasing and lively wit, equal strength and solidity of character, and a peculiar talent for rendering the truth manifest and interesting. His discourse was without ornament, but frequently possessed elevation, and always precision in the terms, and connexion and propriety of ideas. He affirmed, that he had received lessons in rhetoric from Aspasia,^x by which he no doubt meant that he had learned from her to express himself more gracefully. He was intimately acquainted with that celebrated woman, and with Pericles, Euripides, and the most distinguished men of his age: but his disciples were always his real friends; by them he was adored;^y and I have seen some of them who, long after his death, manifested the tenderest emotions whenever they recalled him to mind.

In his conversations with his pupils and friends he frequently spoke of a genius which had attended him from his infancy,^z and whose inspirations never urged him to any undertaking, but frequently restrained him when on the

^u Plat. in *Conviv.* p. 883. Id. in *Theæt.* t. i. p. 143. Id. in *Conviv.* t. iii. p. 215.

^x Plat. in *Menex.* t. ii. p. 235.

^y Xenoph. *Memor.* lib. 1. p. 731; lib. 2. p. 746 et 752; lib. 4. p. 817. Lucian. in *Damonact.* t. ii. p. 379.

^z Plat. in *Theag.* t. i. p. 128.

point of executing his intention.^a If he consulted his monitor concerning any project, the issue of which would have proved unfortunate, he heard a secret voice; but if the event were to be prosperous, the genius was silent. One of his disciples, astonished at a language so unusual, pressed him to explain more clearly the nature of this divine voice; but he received no answer.^b Another made inquiry concerning the same subject at the oracle of Trophœnius; but his curiosity was not better satisfied.^c Would Socrates have left their doubts unresolved had he meant nothing more by his genius than that consummate prudence which was the result of his experience? Did he wish to lead them into error, and gain their admiration and reverence by exhibiting himself to them as an inspired man? No, answered Xenophon, to whom I one day proposed these questions. Socrates never disguised the truth; he was totally incapable of such deceit; he was neither so vain nor so simple as to give mere conjectures for true predictions; he was himself persuaded; and when he spoke to us in the name of his genius, it was because he internally felt its secret influence.^d

^a Plat. in Theag. t. i. p. 128. Id. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 242.
Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 54. t. iii. p. 45.

^b Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588.

^c Id. ibid. p. 590.

^d Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 708.

Another disciple of Socrates, named Simmias, with whom I was acquainted at Thebes, affirmed, that his master, convinced that the gods do not render themselves visible to mortals, disregarded all the stories that were told him of apparitions; but that he listened to, and questioned with the most serious attention, those who imagined they had heard within them the accents of a divine voice.*

If to these express testimonies we add that Socrates, to the day of his death, declared that the gods had sometimes deigned to communicate to him a portion of their prescience;† that he, as well as his disciples, related many of his predictions which had been verified by the event;‡ that some of these were much spoken of at Athens, and that he never attempted to contradict the reports that were current concerning them;§ we shall no longer be able to doubt that he wished to be understood in the literal and express meaning of his words, when, speaking of his genius, he asserted that he had felt within him what perhaps no other person had ever experienced.¶

By examining his principles and his conduct, we may perceive by what steps he arrived at a

* Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 588.

† Plut. Apoll. t. i. p. 31. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 32.

‡ Xenoph. Apol. p. 703. Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581.

§ Elian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 1.

¶ Plut. ibid.

belief that he had attained to such a privilege. Attached to the prevailing religion of his time, he thought, conformably to the ancient traditions adopted by the philosophers,^{*} that the gods, commiserating the wants, and moved by the prayers of the virtuous man, on certain occasions, by various signs, made known to him future events.[†] In consequence of this idea he sometimes exhorted his disciples to consult the oracles, and sometimes to apply themselves to the study of divination;[‡] while he himself, adopting the prevalent opinion of his age,[§] attentively observed his dreams, and obeyed them as the immediate notices of heaven.[¶] Nor was this all: frequently he continued whole hours absorbed in meditation; during which time his mind, disengaged from the senses, was elevated imperceptibly to the source of duties, and of virtues. But it is difficult to continue a long time, as it were, beneath the eye of the Divinity, without venturing to interrogate him, listening to his answers, and becoming familiar with those illusions which a violent agitation of mind frequently produces. Ought we then to be surprised if Socrates sometimes mistook his presentiments for divine inspirations, and

^{*} Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 3 et 43.

[†] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 723.

[‡] Id. ibid. lib. 4. p. 815.

[§] Aristot. de Divin. cap. 1. t. i. p. 697.

[¶] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 46. Id. in Phædon. p. 61. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. cap. 25. t. iii. p. 22.

ascribed to a præternatural cause the effects of prudence or of chance?

Nevertheless we find, in the history of his life, facts which might lead us to suspect the integrity of his intentions. What indeed can we think of a man who, when followed by his disciples, suddenly stops, remains long absorbed in thought, hears the voice of his genius, and advises to take another road, though no real danger threatens them should they continue in that in which they are?*

I shall adduce a second example. At the siege of Potidæa he was seen, from the dawn of day, standing without his tent, motionless, wrapped in profound meditation, and exposed to the burning rays of the sun; for it was in summer. The soldiers gathered round him, and showed him to each other with admiration. In the evening, some of them determined to watch him all night. He continued in the same posture till the following day, when he rendered his homage to the sun, and quietly retired to his tent.[†]

Did he mean to exhibit himself to be gazed upon by the army? Was it possible that his

* Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

* Some of his disciples continued their way, notwithstanding the advice of the genius, and met a drove of pigs which covered them with mud. This story is related in Plutarch by Theocritus, a disciple of Socrates; who refers to Simmias, another disciple of Socrates, as a witness.

† Plut. in Corin. t. iii. p. 930. Phavoran. Ant. Cell.

mind should, during so long a time, investigate and follow the connexion of a chain of truths? or have his disciples, in transmitting to us these facts; mis-stated the circumstances? We seem compelled to admit that the conduct of the wisest and most virtuous men sometimes presents us with impenetrable obscurities.

However this may be, notwithstanding the predictions which were attributed to Socrates, the Athenians never entertained for him that respect which on so many accounts he merited: his manner must necessarily give them offence. Some could not pardon him the disgust they conceived at a discussion which they were unable to follow, nor others his having extorted from them a confession of their ignorance.

As he inculcated that the research after truth should be begun by hesitation, and the distrust of the knowledge we might seem to have acquired; and as, to wean his young pupils from the false ideas they had received, he led them gradually from consequence to consequence, till he compelled them to confess that, according to their principles, wisdom itself might become hurtful; the bye-standers, who were unable to perceive his views, accused him of plunging his disciples into doubts, maintaining either side of a question, and overturning every system, but erecting none.*

* Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 80 et 84. Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 805.

As, when he chanced to be in company with those by whom he was unknown, he affected to know nothing, and dissembled his strength that he might afterwards employ it with more success, it was said that, by an insulting irony, he sought only to spread snares for the simplicity of others.*

As the youth of Athens, who beheld the contests of men of wit with the same pleasure as they would have viewed the combat of wild beasts, applauded his victories, and on the slightest occasion employed the weapons which he had used, it was inferred that his followers only learned of him the love of dispute and contradiction; and those whose censure was mildest, observed that he had abilities sufficient to inspire his pupils with the love of wisdom, but not to induce them to practise its precepts.

He was rarely present at theatrical exhibitions; and, as he highly disapproved of the extreme licentiousness of the comedies of his time, he drew on himself the enmity of their authors.†

As he scarcely ever appeared in the assembly of the people, and had neither influence nor any means of buying or selling suffrages, many

* Tim. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 19. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 805.

* See note X. at the end of the volume.

† Plot. Anach. in C. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 2. p. 500.

merely considered him as an idle and useless man who continually talked of reformation and virtue.

These numerous prejudices united, produced an opinion, almost general, that Socrates was only a sophist, more able and adroit, and more respectable, but perhaps not less vain, than the others.^a I have known intelligent Athenians who gave him this name long after his death;^b and during his life-time some authors artfully employed it to revenge themselves for the contempt with which he had treated them.

Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Amipsias, ridiculed him on the stage,^c as they had done Pericles, Alcibiades, and almost all those who had been at the head of the government, and as other dramatic writers had ridiculed other philosophers;^d for there was then a division between these two classes of literary men.^e

To expose to ridicule the pretended genius of Socrates, and his long meditations, Aristophanes represents him suspended in a basket, assimilating his thoughts to the subtle and light air which he respires,^f and invoking the clouds, the tutelary deities of the sophists, whose voice he

^a Ameips. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 28.

^b Æschin. in Timarch. p. 287.

^c Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 96. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 28. Senec. de Vit. Beat. cap. 27.

^d Senec. ibid.

^e Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 607. Argum. Nub. p. 50.

^f Aristoph. in Nub. v. 299.

imagines that he hears in the midst of the fogs and darkness by which he ^{is} surrounded.^c To inflame against him the prejudices of the people, he accuses him of teaching the youth of Athens to contemn the gods, and to deceive men.^f

Aristophanes presented his piece at the competition for the prize : it was received with applause, but did not obtain the crown.^g He again brought it on the stage the following year, but with no better success. He afterward retouched it, but circumstances prevented it from being a third time represented.^h Socrates, it is affirmed, was present at the first performance of this piece, and stood up to show himself to those strangers who looked for him among the spectators.ⁱ Such attacks could no more shake his fortitude than the other events of life.^k “It is my duty,” said he, “to correct my faults, if the sarcasms of these writers are well founded, and to despise them if they are not.” He was one day told that a certain person had spoken ill of him : “That is,” replied he, “because he has not yet learned to speak well.”^l

^c Aristoph. in Nub. v. 291 et 329.

^f Id. ibid. v. 112 et 246.

^g Id. Ibid. v. 525.

^h Schol. Aristoph. p. 51. Sam. Pet. Miscell. lib. 1. cap. 6. Palmer. Exercit. p. 729.

ⁱ Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 13.

^k Senec. de Const. Sap. cap. 18.

^l Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 26.

Nearly four-and-twenty years had elapsed from the first representation of the *Clouds*, and the time of persecution seemed to be entirely passed, when he was unexpectedly informed that a young man had presented to the second of the archons^m an accusation conceived in the following terms: "Melitus, the son of Melitus, of the borough of Pithos, presents a criminal accusation against Socrates, the son of Sophronicus, of the borough of Alopece. Socrates offends against the laws, by not acknowledging our gods, and introducing new divinities under the name of genii; he likewise offends against the laws by corrupting the youth of Athens: the punishment, death."ⁿ

Melitus was a frigid poet, destitute of abilities, who wrote some tragedies, the remembrance of which will only be preserved by the pleasantries of Aristophanes, who has ridiculed them.^o Two accusers, more powerful than himself, Anytus and Lycon, made him the instrument of their hatred.^p The latter was one of those public orators who, in the assemblies of the senate and the people, discuss the interests of the state, and direct at pleasure the opinion of the multitude, which disposes of every

^m Plat. in *Euthyphr.* t. i. p. 2.

ⁿ Id. *Apol.* t. i. p. 24. Xenoph. *Memor.* lib. 1. p. 708. Phavor. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 40.

^o Aristoph. in *Ran.* v. 1337. Schol. *ibid.* Suid. in *Μέλιτ.*

^p Plat. *Apol.* t. i. p. 23. Antisth. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 39.

thing.⁹ He it was who managed the proceedings on the accusation.⁷

Considerable riches, and signal services rendered to the state, placed Anytus among the number of those citizens who possessed the greatest influence and authority.⁸ He had successively filled the first offices in the republic.⁹ As he had always been a zealous partisan of the democracy, and had suffered persecution from the thirty tyrants, he was one of those who most contributed to their expulsion, and the re-establishment of liberty.¹⁰

Anytus had long lived on friendly terms with Socrates; he had even once requested him to give some instructions to his son, to whom he had committed the superintendance of a manufacture from which he derived considerable profits. But Socrates having represented to him that this degrading employment was neither suitable to the dignity of the father nor the dispositions of the son,¹¹ Anytus, offended at this advice, forbade the young man to have any future intercourse with his master.

Some time after, Socrates, in company with Menon, one of his friends, discussed the question, Whether education can bestow those qua-

⁹ Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. t. ii. p. 369.

⁷ Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 38.

⁸ Isocr. in Callimach. t. ii. p. 495.

⁹ Lys. in Agorat. p. 261. Id. in Dardan. p. 358.

¹⁰ Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 468.

¹¹ Id. lib. 1. p. 506. t. i. p. 507.

lities of the mind and heart which nature has refused. Anytus coming up, joined in the conversation. The conduct of his son, whose education he had neglected, began to give him uneasiness. In the course of the conversation, Socrates observed that the children of Themistocles, Aristides, and Pericles, instructed by different masters in music, riding, and the gymnastic exercises, had arrived at excellence in all these accomplishments, but that they never had possessed the virtue of their fathers; a certain proof, added he, that the latter could find no preceptor who was able to render their sons their equals in merit. Anytus, who ranked himself with these great men, felt, or imagined he perceived, the allusion; and angrily answered—“ You speak of others with a licentiousness not to be endured. Attend to what I say; be more on your guard; there is no place in the world where it is easier to do good or evil to any one than here, and that you cannot but know.”*

To these private causes of offence were added others which irritated Anytus, and which were common to him with the greater part of the Athenians. It will be necessary to explain them to make known the principle cause of the accusation against Socrates.†

* Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 94.

† Observ. Manuscrites de M. Freret sur la Condamnation de Socrate.

Two factions have always subsisted at Athens, —the partisans of the aristocracy, and those of the democracy. The former, almost always overpowered by the latter, were obliged, in prosperous times, to confine themselves to secret murmurs ; but when misfortunes attacked the state, and especially towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, they made several attempts to deprive the people of their excessive power. After the taking of Athens, the Lacedæmonians confided the government of that city to thirty magistrates, the greater part of which were chosen from this class. At their head was Critias, one of the disciples of Socrates. Within the space of eight months these tyrants had committed more cruelties than the people could be accused of in the course of several centuries. At length, however, a number of citizens, who were at first obliged to fly, united under the conduct of Thrasybulus and Anytus ; the oligarchy was destroyed,* the ancient form of government re-established, and, to prevent any future dissension, an almost general amnesty enacted, that past offences should be pardoned and buried in oblivion. This decree was published, and sanctioned by an oath, three years before the death of Socrates.²

* See, with respect to this revolution, the conclusion of the first volume of this work.

² Andocid. de Myster. p. 12.

The people took the oath, but they remembered with dread that they had been deprived of their authority, and were every moment exposed to lose it a second time; that they were still dependent on Lacedæmon, which constantly laboured every where to establish the oligarchy; that the principal citizens of Athens maintained a correspondence with the Spartans, and were animated by the same sentiments. And what might not be expected from that cruel faction in other circumstances, when, in the midst of the ruins of the republic, so much blood had been necessary to satiate its fury?

The flatterers of the multitude still more increased these alarms, by representing that certain violent and restless minds daily declaimed with the most offensive temerity against the nature of the popular government; that Socrates, the most dangerous of them all, because possessed of the greatest abilities, incessantly corrupted the youth of Athens by maxims contrary to the established constitution; that he had more than once been heard to say, that only madmen would confide public employments, and the direction of the state, to persons chosen from among a great number of citizens by blind chance; that Alcibiades, practising the lessons he had received from his master, besides the

^cXenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 712.

other evils with which he had overwhelmed the republic,^b had finally conspired against its liberty; that Critias and Theramenes, two others of his disciples, had not blushed to place themselves at the head of the thirty tyrants; and that, in a word, it was become absolutely necessary to repress a licentiousness, the consequences of which, as they were difficult to foresee, it would be impossible to avoid.

But what accusation can be brought against Socrates? He could only be charged with some discourses concerning which the laws had determined nothing; and which of themselves did not constitute a specific offence, since they had not a necessary connexion with the misfortunes that had befallen the state. Besides, by making them the only ground of the accusation, there would be danger that the animosity of parties should again be excited, and it would be necessary to recur to events which the amnesty had decreed should be for ever forgotten.

The plan marked out by Anytus provided against these inconveniences, and was adapted at once to gratify his private enmity and the vengeance of the popular party. The accuser, by prosecuting Socrates as an impious person, had the greatest reason to expect that he should effect his destruction, since the people always received with

^b Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 713.

eagerness accusations of this kind,^c and, confounding Socrates with the other philosophers, were persuaded that they could not treat on the nature without denying the existence of the gods.^d Besides, the greater part of the judges having formerly been present at the representation of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, still retained, with respect to Socrates, those disadvantageous impressions which, in a great city, are so easily received, and with such difficulty removed.^e

On the other hand, Melitus, by prosecuting him as the corrupter of youth, might, under favour of so vague a charge, incidentally recur, without danger, to facts proper to irritate the judges, and alarm the friends of the popular government.

The secret of these proceedings has not escaped posterity. About fifty-four years after the death of Socrates, the orator Æschines, with whom I was extremely intimate, said, before the same tribunal which had condemned that philosopher: "You who adjudged to death the sophist Socrates, convicted of having given lessons to Critias, one of those thirty tyrants who destroyed the democracy."^f

During the first proceedings, Socrates continued quiet. His disciples, terrified, conjured

^c Plat. in *Euthyphr.* t. i. p. 3.

^d Id. *Apolog.* t. i. p. 18.

^e Id. *ibid.* p. 19.

^f Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 287.

him to take measures to dispel the storm. The celebrated Lysias drew up for him a pathetic discourse, proper to move the passions of the judges. Socrates acknowledged that he found in it proofs of the abilities of the orator, but objected that it did not speak the nervous language which became innocence.^a

One of his friends, named Hermogenes, one day entreated him to employ himself in preparing his defence.^b That, replied Socrates, has been my employment from the hour of my birth: let my whole life undergo an examination, and that shall be my defence.

But, replied Hermogenes, the truth requires to be supported; and you are not ignorant how many innocent citizens have been destroyed, and how many guilty saved, before our tribunals, by the power of eloquence. I know it well, answered Socrates. I have even twice begun to arrange the materials for my defence; but twice has the genius, which directs me, checked me in my design, and I have acknowledged the wisdom of his counsel.

Until the present moment I have lived the most happy of mortals. I have frequently compared my condition to that of other men, and never have I found reason to envy the lot of any person. Ought I to wish to live till the

^a Cicer. de Orat. lib. 1. cap. 54. t. i. p. 182. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 40. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 4. Extern. No. 2.

^b Xenoph. Apol. p. 701. *Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 216.

infirmities of old age deprive me of the use of my senses, and, by enfeebling my mind, condemn me to pass only useless, or wretched days?ⁱ The gods, according to every appearance, prepare for me a peaceful death, free from pain, and the only one which I could have wished. My friends, the witnesses of my departure, shall not be struck with horror at the sight, nor be compelled to commiserate the weakness of humanity; and in my last moments I shall still have sufficient strength to raise my eyes to them, and give them to understand the sentiments of my heart.^k

Posterity shall decide between my judges and me; and while it shall load their memory with opprobrium, it shall clear mine from the imputations of my enemies, and do me the justice to declare, that, far from endeavouring to corrupt my fellow-citizens, I have incessantly laboured to render them better men.^l

Such was the disposition of his mind, when he appeared before the tribunal of the Heliastæ, to which the king-archon had referred the decision of the cause, and which, on this occasion, was composed of about five hundred judges.^m

Melitus, and the other accusers, had con-

ⁱ Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 817.

^k Id. Apol. p. 702.

^l Id. ibid. p. 706. Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 817.

^m Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xviii. p. 83. Observ. Manuscrites de M. Freret sur la Condamn. de Socrate.

certed their attacks at leisure. In their pleadings, supported by every artifice of eloquence,^a they had introduced with consummate art a variety of circumstances proper to prejudice the judges. I shall state some of their allegations, and the answers they produced.

First crime of Socrates: He does not acknowledge the gods of Athens, though, by the laws of Draco, it is the duty of every citizen to honour them.^b

The answer to this charge was easy. Socrates frequently offered sacrifices before his house, and often, during the festivals, on the public altars, in the view of the whole city, and of Melitus himself; had he deigned to give attention to what he saw.^c But as he had inveighed against the superstitious practices that had been introduced into religion,^d and could not endure that hatred and other shameful passions should be attributed to the gods,^e it was easy to render him odious in the eyes of those who are ever ready to entertain suspicions of rational piety.

Melitus added, that, under the name of genii, Socrates sought to introduce novel divinities among the Athenians, and that such audacity

^a Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17.

^b Porphy. de Abst. lib. 4. p. 380.

^c Xenoph. Apol. p. 703. Id. Memor. lib. i. p. 705 et 706. Theod. ap. Arist. Rhet. lib. 2. cap. 23. t. ii. p. 577.

^d Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 580.

merited the punishment denounced by the laws. The orator here indulged himself in several pleasantries concerning that spirit, whose secret inspirations were boasted by the philosopher.*

This voice, answered Socrates, is not that of a new divinity, but that of the gods whom we adore. You all acknowledge that they foresee future events, and are able to make them known to mortals. To some they reveal them by the mouth of the Pythia, and to others by various other signs: to me they manifest them by an interpreter, whose oracles are preferable to the indications drawn from the flight of birds; for my disciples will testify, that I have never foretold to them any thing which has not come to pass.

At these words loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the judges;† which Melitus might have increased, had he seized the opportunity to observe, that, by countenancing the pretended revelations of Socrates, fanaticism must sooner or later be introduced into a country where it was so easy to work on the imagination; and that many would consider it as a duty rather to obey the directions of a particular spirit, than the commands of the magistrate. Melitus does not appear to have perceived this danger.‡

* Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 31. ^

^ Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.

^ Freret. Observ. Manusc.

Second crime of Socrates: *He corrupts the youth of Athens.* This charge did not relate to his conduct, but his doctrine. It was alleged, that his disciples only learned from his lessons to disregard the ties of kindred and of friendship.^x This accusation, founded on some expressions malignantly interpreted, only served to show the disingenuousness of the prosecutors; but Melitus resumed his advantage, when he insinuated that Socrates was the enemy of the people. He spoke of the intimate connexions of the philosopher with Alcibiades and Critias.^y It was answered, that they had displayed virtues while under his guidance; that their master had at all times condemned the licentious extravagancies of the former; and that, during the tyranny of the latter, he was the only person who dared to oppose his will.

To conclude, said Melitus to the judges, you have been chosen by lot to administer justice, and by the same mode of appointment have filled important offices of magistracy. This method of election, the more essential since by it alone a kind of equality can be preserved among the citizens, Socrates has censured; and the youth of Athens, after his example, learn no longer to respect this fundamental principle of the constitution.^z

^x Xenoph. Apol. p. 704.^o Id. Memor. lib. 4. p. 719.

^y Id. Memor. lib. 1. p. 713. ^z Id. Ibid. p. 712.

Socrates, when he censured an abuse that committed to chance the fortune of individuals and the fate of the republic, had only spoken what the most intelligent Athenians^a thought. Besides, such discourse, as I have observed above, could not be supposed to subject him to the punishment of death, which the accuser had stated in his indictment to be due to his crime.

Many of the friends of Socrates openly espoused his cause,^b others wrote in his favour;^c and Melitus must have been defeated, had not Anytus and Lycon come to his assistance.^d It is remembered, that the former dared to represent to the judges that the prisoner either ought not to have been brought before their tribunal, or that they ought to condemn him to death; since, should he be acquitted, their children would only be still more strongly attached to his doctrine.^e

Socrates made a defence, that he might obey the laws;^f but he made it with the firmness of innocence and the dignity of virtue. I shall here add some passages from the discourse which his apologists, and especially Plato, have put into his mouth, as they will serve to portray his character.

“ I appear before this tribunal for the first

^a Isocr. Areop. t. i. p. 322.

^c Xenoph. Apol. p. 701.

^b Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.

^d Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36.

time in my life, though I am more than seventy years of age. The forms and style of the proceedings are entirely new to me; I am about to speak a foreign language; and the only favour which I have to request is, that you would rather be attentive to my arguments than my words; for it is your duty to determine what is just, and mine to declare to you the truth.”^a

After having cleared himself from the crime of impiety,^b he proceeded to the second head of the accusation.

“It is alleged that I corrupt the youth of Athens. Let my accuser produce one of my disciples whom I have drawn into vice.^c I see many of them in this assembly; let them arise and depose against their corrupter.^d If they are withheld by some remains of respect for their preceptor, whence is it that their fathers, their brothers, their kinsmen, do not at this moment invoke against me the utmost severity of the laws? Why has Melitus neglected to avail himself of their testimony? It is because, far from accusing me, they have, unsolicited, hastened to assist and vindicate me.

“My death will not be to be imputed to the calumnies of Anytus and Melitus,^e but to the hatred of those vain or unjust men whose ignorances or vices I have unmasked; a hatred

^a Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 17.

^b Xenoph. Apol. p. 704.

^c Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 28.

^d Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.

^e Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 33.

which has already been the destruction of very many worthy persons, and will hereafter occasion the ruin of many more; for I ought not to flatter myself that it will be satiated with my punishment.

"I have drawn on myself this enmity by wishing to discover the meaning of an answer of the Pythia," who had declared that I was the wisest of men." Here loud murmurs of indignation were heard among the judges." Socrates continued: "Astonished at this oracle, I interrogated, among the different classes of citizens, those who enjoyed a distinguished reputation; but I every where only found presumption and hypocrisy. I endeavoured to inspire them with doubts of their own merits, and I rendered them my irreconcilable enemies. I hence concluded that wisdom appertained only to the Divinity, and that the oracle, by pointing out me as an example, only intended to signify that he is the wisest man who least thinks himself wise.* Should I be censured for having dedicated so many years to inquiries so dangerous, I shall reply, that we ought not to think either life or death of importance, when it is in our power to be useful to others. I believed myself destined to in-

* Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 21. This answer was, according to the scholiast on Aristophanes (in Nub. v. 144.), "Euripides is wise, but Socrates is the wisest of all men."

† Xenoph. Apol. p. 703.

° Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 23.

struct mankind; I believed I had received such a mission from heaven.^p I had defended, at the hazard of my life, the posts in which I had been stationed by the generals of my country, at Amphipolis, at Potidæa, and at Delium: and it was my duty to maintain, with still more courage, that which the gods have assigned me in the midst of you; nor could I abandon it without disobeying their orders, and rendering myself vile in my own eyes.^q

“ I will go still further. Should you this day even offer to acquit me on condition that I should keep silence in future,^r I would say to you, O my judges! I doubtless love and honour you, but it is my duty to obey God rather than you: while I have breath I will never cease to raise my voice, as has heretofore been my practice, and say to all I see, Are you not ashamed to pursue after riches and honours, while you neglect the treasures of wisdom and virtue, which would adorn and render perfect your souls? I would unceasingly importune them with entreaties and questions; I would compel them to blush at their blindness, or their false virtues; and I would prove to them that they bestow their highest esteem on goods which merit only contempt.

“ Such are the truths which the Divine Be-

^p Plat. Apol. t. i p. 50.

^q Id. ibid. p. 28.

ing has commanded me incessantly to declare to old and young, to citizens and strangers: and as my obedience to his orders is to you the greatest of his benefits, if you put me to death you will reject the gift of God, and you will not afterwards find any person animated with the same zeal. It is therefore your cause which I this day maintain, while I appear to defend my own. For, indeed, Anytus and Melitus may calumniate, may banish, may deprive me of life; but never can it be in their power to harm me. They are more to be pitied than I am, since they are unjust.*

“To escape from their persecution I have not, after the example of others when accused, had recourse to clandestine intrigues or open solicitations. I have entertained too much respect for you to seek to move your passions by my tears, or by those of my children and friends collected around me.† Such scenes are indeed proper to excite the emotions of pity on the stage, but here the voice of truth ought alone to be heard. You have taken a solemn oath to judge according to the laws. Should I induce you to violate that oath, I should indeed be guilty of impiety;‡ but, more firmly persuaded than my adversaries of the existence of the Divine Being, I without fear commit myself to his justice and to yours.”

* Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 30.

† Id. ibid. p. 34. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 35. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 722.

The judges of Socrates were for the most part persons taken from the dregs of the people, and destitute of knowledge or principles.^c Some of them considered his firmness as an insult, and others were offended at the praises he bestowed on himself.^x The majority therefore voted him attainted and convicted; but his enemies only gained their point by a small number of voices.^y They would have had still fewer, and even have been liable to punishment themselves, had he made the smallest effort to incline the judges in his favour.^z

●According to the laws of Athens, a second trial was necessary to decide on the punishment.^a Melitus in his accusation had stated, that the crime merited death. Socrates might have chosen between a fine, banishment, or perpetual imprisonment. He again addressed his judges, and said, that to specify any punishment would be to confess himself guilty of a crime;^b but that, as he had rendered the greatest services to the republic, he in reality deserved to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expense.^c At these words, eighty of his judges, who had before voted in his favour, went over to the party of the prosecutor,^d and judgement of death by poison was pronounced.*

^x Xenoph. Mem. lib. 1. p. 707. ^y Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 36.

^z Xenoph. Mem. lib. 4. p. 804.

^a Cicer. de Orat. cap. 54. t. i. p. 182.

^b Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.

^c Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 37. ^d Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 42.

* According to Plato (Apol. t. i. p. 38.), Socrates consented

Socrates received his sentence with the tranquillity of a man who during his whole life had learned to die.^e In a third discourse he consoled those of his judges who had acquitted him, by observing that no evil can happen to the virtuous man, neither while he lives, nor after his death.^f To those who had accused or condemned him, he represented, that they must incessantly suffer from the remorse of conscience^g and the reproaches of men; that death being to him a gain, he felt no anger against them, though he had reason to complain of their hatred. He ended with these words: "It is time for us to depart; I to die, and you to continue to live; but whether of these be the better lot, is known only to the Divine Being."^h

When he left the court to return to prison, no alteration was discernible either in his countenance or his gait. He said to his disciples, who melted into tears around him, Why do you weep now for the first time? Were you ignorant that Nature, when she granted me life, condemned me one day to resign it? I am

to propose a slight fine, for which some of his disciples, and Plato among others, should be security (Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 31.) Yet Xenophon makes him say, that he could not, without confessing that he was guilty, condemn himself to the smallest punishment.

^e Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 64 et 67.

^f Id. Apol. t. i. p. 41.

^g Xenoph. Apol. p. 705. Plat. Apol. p. 39.

^h Plat. Apol. s. i. p. 40 et 42.

in despair, replied the youth Apollodorus, to think that you should die innocent. Would you rather choose, replied Socrates, with a smile, that I should die guilty? He saw Anytus pass by, and said to his friends, How proud is that man of his triumph! He knows not that virtue must ever be victorious.¹

The next day after his trial,* the priest of Apollo placed a crown on the stern of the galley which annually carries the offerings of the Athenians to Delos.^k From the time of the performance of that ceremony to the return of the vessel, the law forbids the execution of any sentence of death.

Socrates passed thirty days in prison,^h surrounded by his disciples, who, to assuage their grief, were continually coming to enjoy his company and conversation, believing at each visit that they saw and heard him for the last time.

One morning, when he awoke, he perceived Crito, one of his friends whom he particularly esteemed, seated near his bed.^m You come sooner than ordinary, surely, said he to him: is it not yet very early? Yes, answered Crito; it is scarcely day.

¹ Xenoph. Apol. p. 706.

* *Le lendemain de son jugement*; but the words of Plato are, *τη προτεραία της δίκης*, the day before his trial. - T.

^k Plat. in Phædon, t. i. p. 58. ¹ Xen. Mem. lib. 4. p. 816.

^m Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 43.

Socrates. I am surprised the keeper of the prison would let you in.

Crito. He knows me; I have made him some trifling presents.

Socrates. Have you been here long?

Crito. Some time.

Socrates. Why did you not awake me?

Crito. You were in such a quiet sleep that I could not prevail on myself to disturb you. I had always admired the calmness of your mind, but at this moment it made a still more forcible impression on me.

Socrates. It would be a shame indeed if a man of my age should be disturbed at the approaches of death. But what has induced you to come so early?

Crito. Intelligence the most afflicting, not to you, but to me and your friends; the most cruel and dreadful intelligence.

Socrates. Is the ship returned?

Crito. It was seen yesterday evening off Scyrium: it will no doubt arrive to-day; and to-morrow will be the day of your death.

Socrates. So let it be, since such is the will of the gods.*

Crito then represented to him, that, unable to bear the idea of his death, he had, with some friends, taken a resolution to facilitate his es-

* Crito thought the ship would arrive on that day at the

cape from prison; that the necessary measures were concerted for the following night; that a small sum of money would be sufficient to corrupt the keepers, and silence their accusers; that an honourable retreat might be procured for him in Thessaly, where he might lead a peaceful life; that he could not refuse to comply with their request, without failing in his duty to himself, to his children, whom he would leave in want, and to his friends, who would be for ever reproached with not having sacrificed all that they possessed to preserve his life.ⁿ

Oh, my dear Crito! replied Socrates, your zeal is not conformable to the principles I have constantly professed to follow, and which the most cruel torments shall never compel me to abandon.^o

It will be first proper to reply to what you allege concerning the reproaches which you fear from men. You know that we are not to be guided by the opinion of the greater number, but by the decision of those who are able to distinguish justice from injustice, and truth from falsehood.^p It is also necessary to dispel the fears with which

Piræus; but it did not come till the next, and the death of Socrates was deferred for a day.

ⁿ Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 44.

^o Id. ibid. p. 46. Xenoph. Apol. p. 705.

^p Plat. in. Crit. p. 48.

you wish to inspire me for my children: they will receive from my friends the services which their generosity now offers to me.^a Thus the whole question will be reduced to the inquiry, whether it be conformable to justice that I should leave this place without the permission of the Athenians?^c

Have we not frequently agreed, that in no circumstances it can be allowable to render injustice for injustice?^b Have we not also established it as a principle, that the first duty of the citizen is to obey the laws, and that this can be dispensed with under no pretext? But would it not be to deprive them of all their power, and absolutely to annihilate them, were I to prevent their being carried into execution? Had I supposed I had reason to complain of them, I was at liberty, and it was in my power to remove into another country;^d but I have hitherto borne their yoke with pleasure, and have a thousand times experienced the effects of their protection and beneficence; and now, because my enemies have abused them to my destruction, you wish me, that I may revenge myself on them, to destroy the laws, and conspire against my country, of which they are the support.

I shall add, that they had prepared me a re-

^a Plat. in Crit. p. 54.

^b Id. ibid. p. 49.

^c Id. ibid. p. 48.

^d Id. ibid. p. 51.

source. After my first trial I might have condemned myself to banishment only; but I chose to undergo a second, and I have openly declared that I would prefer death to exile.^u Shall I then, regardless alike of my word and my duty, fly, to expose to foreign nations Socrates proscribed, disgraced, become the corrupter of the laws, and the enemy of authority, that I may yet live a few wretched and ignominious days? Shall I fly, to perpetuate the remembrance of my weakness and my crime in distant countries, where I can never dare again to pronounce the words justice and virtue without a conscious blush, and drawing on myself the most cruel reproaches? No, my friend; cease to persuade me; and suffer me to pursue the path which the gods have marked out for me.^v

Two days after this conversation,^w the eleven magistrates, whose office it is to see that criminals are executed according to their sentence, came early in the morning to the prison, to have his irons taken off, and give him notice that he was to die that day.^x Many of his disciples afterwards entered. There were about twenty of them. They found with him his wife Xanthippe, with the youngest of his children in her arms. The moment she perceived them, she exclaimed, with loud cries and sobbings:

^u Plat. in Crit. p. 52.

^v Id. in Phæd. p. 59.

^w Id. ibid. p. 54.

^x Id. ibid.

Ah! my husband, your friends are come to visit you, and for the last time! Socrates having requested Crito to cause her to be sent home, she was taken away, uttering the most doleful lamentations, and tearing her face.*

Never had the disciples of Socrates seen him display such patience and courage; they could not look on him without being overwhelmed with grief, nor listen to him without the liveliest transports of pleasure. In his last conversation, he said to them, that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himself of life; because, as we are placed on earth as soldiers in a post assigned them by their general, we ought not to quit our station without the permission of the gods;† that, for himself, he was resigned to their will, and sighed after the moment which would bestow on him the happiness he had endeavoured to merit by his conduct through life.‡ From this discourse passing to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, he endeavoured to establish it by a multitude of proofs, which justified his hopes. “And even,” said he, “though these hopes should be without foundation, besides that the sacrifices they required have not prevented me from being the happiest of men, they remove far from me the bitterness

* Plat. in Phæd. p. 60.

† Id. ibid. p. 60.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 67 et 68.

of death, and diffuse a pure and delicious joy over my last moments."^d

"Thus," added he, "every man who, renouncing pleasure, has laboured to adorn his soul, not with foreign ornaments, but such as are suitable to it,—as justice, temperance, and other virtues,—cannot but possess an unshaken confidence, and quietly wait the hour of his departure. You will follow me when yours shall arrive; mine approaches; and, to use the expression of one of our poets, I hear already its voice which calls me."

Crito now asked him, whether he had no injunctions to lay on them with regard to his children or his affairs. "I have only to repeat," replied Socrates, "the advice I have frequently given you;—that you be virtuous. If you follow it, I shall not need your promises; and if you neglect it, they will be useless to my family."^e

He afterwards passed into a small apartment adjoining to bathe. Crito followed him: his other friends continued in the room he had left, and conversed together on the discourse they had just heard, and the situation in which they were soon to be left by his death. They already considered themselves as orphans deprived of the best of fathers, and less wept for him than

^d Plat. in Phæd. p. 91 et 114.

^e Id. ibid. t. i. p. 115.

for themselves. His three children were brought to him, two of whom were yet extremely young: he gave some orders to the women who came with them, and, after having sent them away, returned to his friends.^f

A moment after, the keeper of the prison entered: "Socrates," said he, "I am certain that I shall not hear from you those imprecations with which I am usually loaded by persons in the same situation, to whom my office obliges me to give notice that it is time to drink the poison. As I have never seen any person in this place who possessed such firmness of mind and mildness of temper as you have always shown, I know well that you are not angry at me, and that you do not attribute to me your misfortunes; you are but too well acquainted with the authors of them: farewell! endeavour to submit to necessity." His tears scarcely permitted him to conclude what he had to say, and he retired to a corner of the prison that he might shed them without restraint. "Farewell!" said Socrates to him in reply: "I will follow your advice:" and turning towards his friends, How well-behaved and honest is that man! said he. Since I have been here he has frequently come to converse with me.—And now see how he weeps.—Crito, he must be obeyed. Let the

^f Plat. in Phædon, t. i. p. 116 et 117.

poison be brought, if it be ready: if not, let it be mixed as soon as possible.

Crito, in answer, represented that the sun was not yet set; and that others, in like circumstances, had been permitted to defer drinking the poison for some hours. "They," said Socrates, "had their reasons for what they did, and I have mine for acting differently."*

Crito then gave orders as he had been directed; and when the poison was ready, a servant brought the fatal cup; and Socrates having asked what he was to do, the man answered: "After you have drunk the potion, you must walk until you find your legs begin to grow heavy, and then lie down on your back." Immediately, without changing countenance, he took the cup with a steady hand, and, after having addressed a prayer to the gods, advanced it to his mouth.

In this dreadful moment, terror and dismay seized on all present, and involuntary tears streamed from every eye. Some to conceal them threw their mantles over their heads, and others hastily arose that he might not discover their agitation; but when, turning their eyes again upon him, they perceived that he had drunk off the poison, their grief, too long restrained, burst forth with violence; and

* Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 116.

their tears and sobbings redoubled when they heard the loud lamentations of the youth Apollodorus, who, after having wept the whole day, now made the prison resound with the most frantic cries.^b "What are you doing, my friends?" said Socrates, without emotion: "I sent away the women that I might not witness such weakness. Resume your courage; I have always said that death ought to be accompanied with good omens."

In the mean time he continued to walk till he began to feel a heaviness in his legs, when he laid down on the bed and wrapped himself in his mantle. The man who had brought and given him the poison pointed out to the persons present the successive progress of its effects. A mortal cold had already frozen his feet and legs, and was ready to invade the heart, when Socrates, raising his mantle, said to Crito: "We owe a cock to Æsculapius; forget not to pay the vow." * It shall be performed, replied Crito: but have you no other command? He returned no answer, but a moment after made a slight motion. The servant having uncovered him received his last look, and Crito closed his eyes.

^b Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 117.

* It was usual to sacrifice this bird to Æsculapius. (See Pompeius Festus de Signif. Verb. lib. 9. p. 189.)

Thus died the most religious, the most virtuous, and the most happy of men;¹ the only man, perhaps, who, without fear of being convicted of falsehood, might boldly affirm—I have never, either in word or deed, committed the smallest injustice.²*

¹ Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 118. Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 818.

² Xenoph. Memor. lib. 1. p. 721; lib. 4. p. 805.

* See note XI. at the end of the volume.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Festivals and Mysteries of Eleusis.

I NOW proceed to speak of the most important article of the Athenian religion; of those mysteries, the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of time, of which the ceremonies inspire no less dread than veneration, and the secret of which has never been revealed but by some persons immediately condemned to death and the public execration;¹ for the law is not satisfied with depriving them of life and confiscating their goods,—the remembrance of their crime and punishment must be preserved on a column exposed to every eye.^m

Among all the mysteries instituted in honour of different divinities, there are none so celebrated as those of the goddess Ceres; she herself, it is said, appointed the ceremonies. While she traversed the earth in search of Proserpine, who had been carried off by Pluto, she arrived in the plain of Eleusis, and, pleased at the reception she met with from the inhabitants, bestowed on them two signal benefits,—the art of

¹ Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 20.

^m Andoc. de Myst. p. 7.

agriculture, and the knowledge of the sacred doctrine.* The lesser mysteries, which serve as a preparation to the greater, were instituted in favour of Hercules.†

But let us leave such idle traditions to the vulgar, since it is of less importance to be acquainted with the authors of this religious system than to discover its object. It is asserted, that, wherever it has been introduced by the Athenians, it has diffused a spirit of union and humanity;‡ that it purifies the soul from its ignorance and pollution;§ that it procures to the initiated the peculiar aid of the gods,¶ the means of arriving at the perfection of virtue, the serene happiness of a holy life, and the hope of a peaceful death and endless felicity. The initiated shall occupy a distinguished place in the Elysian Fields,‡ they shall enjoy a pure light,‡ and shall live in the bosom of the Divinity;‡ while those who have not participated

* Isocr. Paneg. t. i. p. 132. Aristid. Eleus. Orat. t. i. p. 450.

† Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 5.

‡ Cicer. de Leg. lib. 2. cap. 14. t. iii. p. 148. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 155.

§ Augustin. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 10. t. viii. p. 819. Procl. in Rep. Plat. p. 369.

¶ Sopat. Divis. Quæst. t. i. p. 370.

‡ Id. ibid. p. 335.

‡ Isocr. ibid. Cicer. ibid. Crinag. in Anthol. lib. 1. cap. 28.

‡ Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 30. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 371.

‡ Pind. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 518. Aristoph. in Ran. v. 155 et 457. Spanh. ibid. p. 304. Sophocl. ap. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21.

‡ Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69 et 91.

in the mysteries shall dwell after death in places of darkness and horror.*

To shun so fearful an alternative, the Greeks repair from all parts to solicit at Eleusis the pledge of happiness there offered them. From the most tender age the Athenians are admitted to the ceremonies of initiation,^a and those who have never participated in them request to be admitted to them before they die;^b for the menaces and representations of the punishments of another life, which they had before regarded as a subject of derision, then make the strongest impression on their minds, and fill them with fears, which are sometimes of the most abject kind.^c

Yet some enlightened persons do not believe that to be virtuous there is any necessity for such an association. Socrates would never be initiated, and his refusal gave birth to some doubts concerning his religion.^d Diogenes was once advised, in my presence, to contract this sacred engagement; but he answered: "Patæcion the notorious robber obtained initiation;

* Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 69. Id. in Gorg. t. i. p. 493. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 363. Aristoph. in. Ran. v. 145. Spanb. ibid. Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 31. p. 876.

^a Terent. in Phorm. act. 1. scen. 1. v. 15. Donat. ibid. Turneb. Adv. lib. 3. cap. 6. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iv. p. 654. Note of madame Dacier on the passage in Terence.

^b Aristoph. in Pac. v. 374.

^c Plat. de Rep. lib. 1. p. 330. Zaleuc. ap. Stob. Serm. 42. p. 279.

^d Lærtian. in Demonact. t. ii. p. 380.

Epaminondas and Agesilaus never solicited it; is it possible I should believe that the former will enjoy the bliss of the Elysian Fields, while the latter shall be dragged through the mire of the infernal shades?"

All the Greeks may claim to be admitted to initiation into the mysteries,^e but the people of every other nation are excluded by an ancient law.^f I had been promised that this law should be dispensed with in my behalf. I had in my favour the title of citizen of Athens, and the powerful authority of examples.^h But as it would have been necessary that I should have confined myself to observe certain practices, and abstain from different kinds of eatables, which might have laid me under a disagreeable restraint, I contented myself with making some researches concerning this institution, and obtaining information of various particulars relative to it, which I may make known without fear of incurring the guilt of perjury. I shall annex them to the account of the last journey that I made to Eleusis, on occasion of the greater mysteries, which are annuallyⁱ celebrated there on the 15th of the month Boedromien.^k *

^e Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 39.

^f Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65. ^g Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19.

^h Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19. ⁱ Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

^k Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1. cap. 8. t. i. p. 10. Id. in Themist. p. 408.

* In the Metonic Cycle, the month Boedromion began on one of the days between the 23d of August and the 21st of September.

The festival of the lesser mysteries is likewise annual, and is observed six months before.

During the celebration of the former, all judicial prosecutions are rigorously forbidden, nor may any seizure be made on any debtor already condemned by the laws. On the day after the festival, the senate makes a strict inquiry into the conduct of those who are accused of having, by acts of violence, or in any other manner, disturbed the regularities of the ceremonies;¹ and if they are found guilty, they are condemned to death, or to pay heavy fines.² This severity is perhaps necessary to maintain order among such an immense multitude as is assembled at Eleusis.³ In time of war, the Athenians send deputies to all parts of Greece, to offer passports to those who desire to attend at the festivals,⁴ whether they have received initiation, or only come as spectators.⁵

I departed for Eleusis, in company with some friends, on the 14th of Boedromion, in the 2d year of the 109th Olympiad.* The gate by which we leave Athens to go to Eleusis is named the sacred gate, and the road which

¹ Andocid. de Myster. p. 15, &c.

² Deinosth. in Mid. p. 681. Pet. Leg. Att. p. 36.

³ Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

⁴ Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 426.

⁵ Lys. in Andocid. p. 106.

* In this year the 1st of Boedromion corresponded with the 20th of our month of September, and the 14th of Boedromion with the 4th of October. The festival began on the 5th of October in the year 313 before Christ.

leads thither the sacred way.⁹ The distance is about a hundred stadia.* After having crossed a rather high hill, which is covered with laurel roses,[†] we entered the territory of Eleusis, and arrived on the banks of two small streams, consecrated, the one to Ceres, and the other to Proserpine. I mention them, because the priests of the temple only are permitted to fish in them, and because their water is salt, and made use of in the ceremonies of initiation.[‡]

Further on, upon the bridge over a river which bears the name of Cephissus, like that which flows near Athens, we were attacked with gross jokes and pleasantries by great numbers of the populace, who were assembled there, and who, during the festival, there take their station, as in a kind of ambuscade, to divert themselves at the expense of those who pass by, and especially the persons of most eminence in the republic.[§] Such was the reception, as tradition relates, which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleusis, here met with from an old woman named Iambe.^{||}

At a small distance from the sea, a large hill

⁹ Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 27.

* About 3½ leagues.

[†] Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 425. Pococke, t. ii. part 2. p. 170.

[‡] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 91. Hesych. in Πελο. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 161. Wheler, book 6. p. 425.

[§] Strab. lib. 9. p. 400. Hesych. et Suid. in Γεφυσ.

^{||} Apollod. lib. 1. p. 17.

extends into the plain, from the north-west to the south-east, on the brow and eastern extremity of which stands the famous temple of Ceres and Proserpine.* Under it is the small town of Eleusis. In the environs, and on the hill itself, are several sacred monuments, such as chapels and altars:† and rich individuals of Athens have here pleasant and beautiful villas.‡

The temple, built under the administration of Pericles, of marble of Pentelicus,§ on the rock itself, which was levelled, fronts the east. It is equally vast and magnificent. Its length, from north to south, is about 384 feet,* and its breadth about 325.†‡ The most celebrated artists were employed in its construction and decoration.¶

Among the ministers of this temple there are four principal ones.¶ The first is the hierophant: his name signifies he who reveals the sacred things;¶ and his principal function is to initiate into the mysteries. He appears in a distinguished

* Manuser. Note of Mr. Wood. Chandler's Travels in Greece, p. 190.

† Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. p. 93.

‡ Demosth. in Mid. p. 628.

§ Wood, Manuser. Not. Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 427.

* About 363 French (or 386 Eng.) feet.

† About 307 French (or 327 Eng.) feet.

‡ Wood. Manuser. Note. Wheler, *ibid.*

¶ Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125. Plut. in Pericl. t. i. p. 159.

¶ Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 13. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 93.

* Hesych. in ἱεροφ.

robe, his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his shoulders.^f His age must be sufficiently mature to suit the gravity of his ministry, and his voice so sonorous that it may be heard with pleasure.^g His priesthood is for life.^h From the moment he is invested with it he must confine himself to celibacy; and it is pretended that, by rubbing his body with hemlock, he is enabled more easily to observe this law.ⁱ

The office of the second minister is to carry the sacred torch in the ceremonies, and purify those who present themselves for initiation; he, like the hierophant, has the right to wear a diadem.^k The two others are, the sacred herald, and the assistant at the altar: the office of the former is to command the profane to retire, and to maintain silence and serious thoughtfulness among the initiated; that of the latter is to assist the others in their several functions.^l

The respect they claim from the sanctity of their ministry is still more heightened by their illustrious birth. The hierophant is chosen from the house of the Eumolpidæ,^m one of the most

^f Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 441. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 202.

^g Arrian. *ibid.* Philostr. in Vit. Soph. lib. 2. p. 600.

^h Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 14. p. 142.

ⁱ Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 13.

^k Id. *ibid.* cap. 14.

^l Id. *ibid.*

^m Hesych. in Εὐμόλετ.

ancient in Athens ; and the sacred herald from that of the Ceryces, which is a branch of the Eumolpidæ.^a The two others are chosen from families equally illustrious ;^b and all the four have under them several subaltern ministers, such as interpreters, chanters, and officers whose place it is to arrange the processions, and regulate the minutiae of the different ceremonies.^c

There are also at Eleusis priestesses consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine. They may initiate certain persons ;^d and, on particular days in the year, offer sacrifices for individuals.^e

The second of the archons presides at the festivals, and is especially charged to maintain order in them, and to see that no irregularities are admitted into the celebration of the religious rites. These last several days. The initiated sometimes interrupt their sleep to continue their ceremonies. We saw them, during the night, leave the enclosure of the temple, walking in silence two by two, and each carrying a lighted torch.^f When they re-entered the sacred asylum, they hastened their pace ; and I was informed that this was intended to represent the wanderings of Ceres and Proserpine ; and that,

^a Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. p. 96.

^b Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 37. p. 89.

^c Poll. lib. 1. cap. 1. § 35. Suid. in *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΗΣ*.

^d Demosth. in *Near.* p. 880. Tayl. Not. ad Demosth. t. iii. p. 623.

^e Wheeler's Journey, book 6. p. 428. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 166.

in their rapid evolutions, they shook their torches, and frequently handed them from one to another. The flame which they agitate, it is said, purifies their souls, and is the emblem of that light by which they are to be illuminated.^c

On one of the days games were celebrated in honour of the goddesses.^a Famous athletæ, from the different countries of Greece, repaired to the festival; and the reward of the conqueror was a measure of barley, grown on the neighbouring plain; the inhabitants of which, instructed by Ceres, were the first who cultivated that species of corn.^x

On the sixth day, which is the most splendid, the priests, accompanied by the initiated, carried from Athens to Eleusis the statue of Iacchus,^y who is said to have been the son either of Ceres or of Proserpine. The god was crowned with myrtle,^z and bore a torch.^a Nearly thirty thousand persons followed,^b and the air resounded with the name of Iacchus.^c The procession, regulated by the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns,^d was sometimes in-

^a Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 26.

^b Id. ibid. cap. 28.

^x Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 38. §. 93.

^y Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 754. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 27.

^z Aristoph. in Ran. v. 333.

^a Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 6.

^b Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

^c Aristoph. ib. v. 315. Hesych. in 'Iax.

^d Vell. Paterc. lib. 1. cap. 4.

interrupted by sacrifices and dances.^a The statue was brought into the temple at Eleusis; and afterward carried back to its own, with the same pomp and ceremonies.

Many of those who followed in the procession had yet been only admitted into the lesser mysteries, celebrated annually in a small temple situate near the Ilissus, at the gates of Athens.^c There one of the priests of the second order is appointed to examine and prepare the candidates.^d He excludes them if they have been guilty of sorcery, or of any atrocious crime; and especially if they have committed homicide, even though involuntarily.^e He enjoins the others frequent expiations; and, convincing them of the necessity of preferring the light of truth to the darkness of error,^f disseminates in their minds the seeds of the sacred doctrine.^g He exhorts them to repress every violent passion;^h and, by purity of mind and heart, to merit the inestimable benefit of initiation.^m

Their noviciate sometimes continues several

^a Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 210.

^b Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 7. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 5. cap. 17. § 1. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. p. 361. Steph. Hesych. et Etymol. Magn. in 'Αγρ.

^c Hesych. in 'Υδρην.

^d Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 19.

^e Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 325; lib. 7. p. 845.

^f Id. ibid. lib. 5. p. 689.

^g Porphy. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 142.

^h Arrian. in Epict. lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 440. Liban. Declam. 19. t. i. p. 495.

years, and must last at least one entire year.^a During the time of their trial, the candidates attend the festivals of Eleusis; but remain without the gate of the temple, and anxiously wait the hour in which they shall be permitted to enter.^b

This hour had at length arrived. The following night was appointed for the ceremonies of initiation into the greater mysteries. As a preparation for them, sacrifices and prayers were offered for the prosperity of the state,^c by the second archon, attended by four assistants, chosen by the people.^d The novices were crowned with myrtle.^e

The robes in which they are initiated are supposed to acquire such sanctity by the ceremony, that the greater part continue to wear them till they are quite worn out; and others make them into swaddling-clothes for their children, or hang them up in the temple.^f We saw the candidates enter the sacred enclosure; and the next day one of the newly initiated, with whom I was particularly intimate, gave me an account of some ceremonies to which he had been witness.

^a Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 8.

^b Petay. ad Themist. p. 414.

^c Aristot. ap. Harpocr. et Suid. in Ἐπιμελ.

^d Lys. in Andocid. p. 105. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 15.

^e Schol. Sophocl. in Œdip. Col. v. 713.

^f Meurs. ibid. cap. 12.

We found, said he, the priests of the temple habited in their pontifical vestments. The hierophant, who on this occasion represents the Creator of the universe, was invested with symbols significatory of the supreme power; the torch-bearer, and the assistant at the altar, with those of the sun and moon; and the sacred herald, with those of Mercury.¹

No sooner had we taken our places, than the herald proclaimed: "Far hence be the profane, the impious, and all those whose souls are polluted with guilt." After this notice, death would be the punishment of any person who should have the rashness to remain in the assembly without having been initiated.² The second priest caused the skins of the victims offered in sacrifice to be spread under our feet, and purified us anew.³ The ritual of initiation was read aloud,⁴ and hymns were sung in honour of Ceres.

Soon after a hollow sound was heard, and the earth seemed to groan beneath our feet:⁵ we heard thunder; and perceived, by the glare of lightning, phantoms and spectres wandering in

¹ Euseb. Præpar. Evan. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 117.

² Sueton. in Ner. cap. 34. Capitol. in Anton. Philos. p. 33. Lamprid. in Alex. Sev. p. 119.

³ Liv. lib. 31. cap. 14.

⁴ Hesych. et Suid. in Διὸς Κώδ.

⁵ Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 10.

⁶ Virgil. Æneid. lib. 6. v. 255. Claud. de Rapt. Proserp. lib. 1. v. 7.

darkness,^b and filling the holy places with howlings that chilled us with terror, and groans that rent our hearts. Agonising pain, corroding care, poverty, diseases, and death, presented themselves to our eyes in dreadful and funereal forms.^c The hierophant explained to us those several emblems, and his animated descriptions still added to our inquietude and our fears.

In the mean time, by the assistance of a feeble light,^d we advanced towards that part of the infernal shades where souls are purified, till they arrive at the abodes of happiness. Here, amid a multitude of plaintive cries, we heard the bitter lamentations of those who had deprived themselves of life.^e “They are punished,” said the hierophant, “because they have deserted the post which the gods had assigned them in this world.^f”

Scarcely had he uttered these words, than the brazen gates, opening with a dreadful noise, disclosed to our view the horrors of Tartarus.^g We heard the clanking of chains, and the cries of the tortured; and, amid piercing shrieks and

^b Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 12. p. 202. Themist. Orat. 20. p. 235. Meurs. cap. 11. ^c Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 299.

^d Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 6. v. 275. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 4. p. 167.

^e Lucian. in Catapl. i. p. 643.

^f Virgil. *ibid.* v. 434.

^g Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 62. Id. de Leg. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 870.

^h Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. 6. v. 572.

lamentable groans, distinguished at intervals these words: "Learn, by our example, to reverence the gods, to be just and grateful."^a For hardness of heart, neglect of parents, and every species of ingratitude, there meet their punishment; as also every crime that escapes the vengeance of human laws, or tends to destroy the worship of the gods.^b We saw the furies, armed with scourges, relentlessly pursuing the guilty.^c

These terrific scenes, incessantly rendered more animated by the sonorous and majestic voice of the hierophant, who appeared to be the minister of divine vengeance, filled us with dread; and scarcely could we recover from our apprehensions, when we were led into delightful groves and smiling meadows, the abodes of happiness, and the image of the Elysian Fields, illuminated by a serene and pure light, and where harmonious voices uttered the most enchanting sounds.^d Thence we were brought into the sanctuary, where we beheld the statue of the goddess resplendent with light, and adorned with all its richest ornaments.^e Here our trials were to end, and here we saw and

^a Virgil. *Æneid.* v. 620. Pind. *Pyth.* 2. v. 40.

^b Id. *ibid.* v. 608. Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 332.

^c Id. *ibid.* Lucian. in *Catapl.* t. i. p. 644.

^d Id. *ibid.* v. 638. Stob. *Serm.* 129. p. 604.

^e Themist. *Orat.* 20. p. 235.

heard things which it is not permitted to reveal.* I shall only add, that, in the intoxication of a holy joy, we sang hymns in which we congratulated ourselves on our happiness.[†]

Such was the account I received from my newly initiated friend. I learned from another a circumstance which he had omitted. On one of the days of the festival, the hierophant uncovered the mystic baskets, which are carried in the processions, and are the objects of public veneration. They contain the sacred symbols, which may not be seen by the profane; but which, however, are only cakes of different shapes, some grains of salt, and other things,[°] relative either to the history of Ceres, or to the doctrines taught in the mysteries. The initiated, after having removed them from one basket into another, affirm that they have feasted; and drank Ciceon.[‡]

Among those who have not been initiated, I have frequently heard men of sense and learning communicate to each other their doubts and opinions concerning the doctrines taught in the

* See note XII. at the end of the volume.

[°] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 451.

† See note XIII. at the end of the volume.

[°] Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 19.

[°] Id. ibid. p. 18. Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 10.

‡ A kind of drink, or rather broth, which was offered to Ceres (Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 17. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 12. p. 492. Casaub. ib. p. 512. Turneb. Adv. lib. 12. cap. 8).

mysteries of Ceres. Do they only contain, said they, the history of nature and its revolutions?^a or are they solely intended to show, that, by means of laws and agriculture, man has been advanced from the state of barbarism to that of civilised life? But why should ideas like these be covered with the veil of secrecy? A disciple of Plato modestly proposed a conjecture which I shall here give my readers.*

It appears undeniable, said he, that the necessity of the rewards and punishments which await us after death was inculcated in the mysteries, and that the initiated were presented with a representation of the different destinies prepared for men in this and the other world.^b It also appears certain that they were taught by the hierophant that, among that great number of divinities which are adored by the multitude, some are pure genii, who are the ministers of the will of the Supreme Being, and regulate, subservient to his commands, all the motions of the universe;^c while others have only been mere mortals, whose tombs are still to be seen in different parts of Greece.^d

^a Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. cap. 42. t. ii. p. 433.

^b Varr. ap. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 7. cap. 20. t. vii. p. 177.

* See note XIV. at the end of the volume.

^c Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 3. t. i. p. 501; lib. 8. p. 777. Dissert. tirées de Warburton, t. i. p. 175.

^d Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 202. Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 417.

^e Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. cap. 13. t. ii. p. 243. Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. cap. 24. t. ii. p. 454. Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Is it not, therefore, natural to imagine, that the institutors of the mysteries, wishing to diffuse a more just idea of the Supreme Being,* earnestly endeavoured to establish a doctrine of which traces more or less manifest are found in the opinions and ceremonies of almost all nations—that there is one God, who is the author and end of all things? And this doctrine is, in my opinion, the momentous secret revealed to the initiated.

The establishment of this religious association was doubtless favoured by political views. Polytheism had become general, when it was perceived what fatal consequences resulted to morality from a worship, the objects of which were only multiplied to authorise every species of injustice and vice; but this worship was equally agreeable to the people from its antiquity and even from its imperfections. Far, therefore, from fruitlessly attempting to abolish it, endeavours were made by the legislator to counterbalance it by a more pure religion, which should repair the injuries done to society by polytheism. As the multitude are more easily restrained by the laws than by manners, it was thought they might be abandoned to superstitions of which it would be easy to prevent the abuse; but, as the more enlightened citizens are influenced more by manners than by the laws, it was judged

* Etymol. Magn. in Test.

proper to communicate to them a doctrine adapted to render them virtuous.

You are now able, added this disciple of Plato, to conceive why the gods are permitted to be introduced in ludicrous situations on the stage of Athens. The magistrates, delivered from the false ideas of polytheism, attempt not to repress a liberty which can do no injury to the people, and which contributes to their amusement.

You likewise understand how two religions so opposite in their doctrines have subsisted for so long a time in the same place, without disturbance or rivalry: it is because, though their doctrines are different, their language is the same; and truth shows that respect to error which it may be expected to require.

The mysteries externally have the appearance of the religious worship adopted by the people. The hymns which are sung in public, and the greater part of the ceremonies, present to us several circumstances of the rape of Proserpine, the pursuit of Ceres, and her arrival and stay at Eleusis. The environs of that town are covered with monuments erected in honour of the goddess; and the stone on which it is pretended she sat down when exhausted with fatigue, is still shown.* Thus, on the one hand, persons of little knowledge and discernment suffer themselves to be persuaded by appearances that

* Meurs. in Eleus. cap. 3.

favoured their prejudices; and, on the other, the initiated, penetrating to the spirit of the mysteries, believe they may rely on the purity of their intentions.

Whatever foundation there may be for the conjecture I have here given, initiation is at present little more than an idle ceremony: those who receive it are not more virtuous than others; they every day violate the vow they have made to abstain from fowl, fish, pomegranates, beans, and many other kinds of pulse and fruits.² Many among them have contracted this sacred engagement in a manner by no means suitable to its object; for, almost in our time, the government, to retrieve the exhausted state of the finances, has been known to grant permission that the right of participating in the mysteries should be purchased,³ and women of dissolute life have long been admitted to initiation:⁴ a time, therefore, must arrive when the most sacred of associations will be entirely corrupted and disfigured.⁵

² Porphyry. de Abstin. lib. 4. p. 353. Julian. Orat. 5. p. 173.

³ Apsin. de Art. Rhetor. p. 691.

⁴ Isæ. Orat. de Hæred. Philoſtem. p. 61. Demosth. in Neær. p. 862.

⁵ Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 19.

NOTES.

NOTE I. CHAP. LIX. Page 11.

On the Produce of an Athenian Farm.

DEMOSTHENES^(a) mentions a private person of Athens, named Phœnippus, who having obtained the quantity of barley and wine stated in the text, sold each medimnus of barley for eighteen drachmas (16 liv. 4 sols, or 13s. 6d.), and each metretes of wine for twelve drachmas (10 liv. 16 sols, or 9s.); but as he afterward^(b) says, that these prices, perhaps on account of some scarcity, were triple the ordinary value of the commodities, it follows that, in his time, the common price of the medimnus of barley was six drachmas, and that of the metretes of wine, four drachmas. A thousand medimni of barley (a little more than four thousand bushels), were therefore worth six thousand drachmas (5400 liv. or 225l.); and eight hundred metretæ of wine, three thousand two hundred drachmas (2880 liv. or 120l.): total, 8280 liv. or 345l.

Phœnippus had besides six beasts of burden, which were continually employed in carrying to the city wood and other kinds of materials,^(c) and which brought him

(a) Demosth. in Phœnip. p. 1025.

(b) Id. ibid. p. 1027.

(c) Id. ibid. p. 1023.

daily twelve drachmas (12 liv. 16 sols, or 9s.) The festivals, bad weather, or work that might not be neglected, frequently interrupted this little traffic; but if we suppose that it only took place for two hundred days in the year, we shall find that Phœnippus annually received a profit of 2160 liv. (90l.); which, added to the 8280 livres, gives 10440 livres (435l.) for the produce of a farm little more than a league and a half in circuit.

NOTE II. SAME CHAP. Page 14.

On the Queen Bee.

It appears, by the passage of Xenophon quoted in the text, that that author considered the principal bee as a female. Naturalists afterwards were divided on this subject; some imagining that all the bees were females, and all the drones males; and others maintaining the contrary. Aristotle, who refutes their opinions, admitted in each hive a class of kings which continued their species: he confesses, however, that sufficient observations to determine any thing with certainty had not been made: (d) these observations have been since made, and naturalists have returned to the opinion which I attribute to Xenophon.

(d) Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 5. cap. 21. t. i. p. 832. Id. de Gener. Anim. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 1110.

NOTE III. SAME CHAP. Page 22.

On Melons.

FROM some expressions to be found in the ancient writers, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of which I here speak, the Greeks were acquainted with melons, and considered them as a species of cucumber; but these expressions not being sufficiently clear, I shall content myself with referring my readers to the modern critics, as Jul. Scalig. in Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 741; Bod. a Stapel. in cap. 4. ejusd. libr. p. 782; and several others.

NOTE IV. SAME CHAP. Page 43.

On the Soul of the World.

THE commentators on Plato, both ancient and modern, are divided concerning the nature of the soul of the world. According to some, Plato supposed that there had eternally existed in chaos a vital force, or gross soul, which irregularly agitated matter, from which it was distinct; and that, consequently, the soul of the world was composed of the divine essence, of matter, and of the vicious principle from all eternity united to matter. *Ex divinæ naturæ portione quædam, et ex re quædam aliâ distinctâ a Deo, et cum materiâ sociatâ.* (e.)

(e) Mosh-m. in Cudworth. i. 4. cap. 4. § 13. p. 310.

Others, to exculpate Plato from the censure of having admitted two eternal principles, the one the author of good and the other of evil, have affirmed, that, according to that philosopher, the disorderly motion of chaos did not proceed from a particular soul, but was innate in matter. To this it has been objected, that in his *Chædrus*, and in his *treatise on laws*, he has expressly said that all motion supposes a soul by which it is produced. It will, no doubt, be replied, that he here speaks of a regular and productive motion; but that of the chaos, being disorderly and sterile, was not directed by an intelligent principle; and thus Plato does not contradict himself. (f) Those who wish to see this subject elucidated, may consult, among other writers, Cudw. cap. 4. § 13; Moshem. *ibid.* not. k; Bruck. t. i. p. 684 et 704.

NOTE V. CHAP. LX. Page 53.

On the precise Time of the Expedition of Dion.

THE note which I here add may be considered as the continuation of that which I have given above, on the voyages of Plato, and which refers to Chap. XXXIII. of this work.

Plutarch observes, that when Dion set sail from Zacynthus for Sicily, the troops were alarmed by an eclipse of the moon; and that this expedition was undertaken in the middle of summer. Dion was twelve days in his passage to the coast of Sicily; and

(f) Bruck. *Hist. Philos.* t. i. p. 688.

on the thirteenth, attempting to double the promontory of Pachynum, he met with a violent tempest; for, adds the Periorian it was the time of the rising of Arcturus.(g) But since that in that age Arcturus began to appear in S about the middle of our month of September. Thus, according to Plutarch, Dion departed from Zacynthus towards the middle of the month of August.

On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus(h) places the expedition of Dion in the archonship of Agathocles, who entered on his office in the beginning of the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, and consequently on the 27th of June of the year 357 before Christ.(i)

But, according to the calculations which M. De la Lande has had the goodness to communicate to me, there was an eclipse of the moon visible at Zacynthus on the 9th of August of the year 357 before Christ, which must be that mentioned by Plutarch. There are few dates in chronology ascertained with equal certainty. It will be proper to add, that M. Pingré has calculated the middle of this eclipse to have been at three quarters after six in the evening. See the *Chronology of Eclipses* in vol. xlii. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, Hist. p. 130.

(g) Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 969.

(h) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.

(i) Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iv. p. 20. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 719.

NOTE VI. CHAP. LXI. Page 19.

On an Expression of the Orator Demades

DEMADES, a man of great wit, and one of the principal orators in Athens, lived in the time of Demosthenes. A number of happy and forcible repartees are attributed to him; (k) but among his pleasantries there are some which we should charge with affectation. Such is the following:---As the Athenians rose at the crowing of the cock, Demades called the crier who summoned them to the assembly, *the public cock of Athens.* (l) If the Athenians were not disgusted at this metaphor, it is probable that they would not have disapproved of that of *solex register*,* ventured by La Motte to signify a sun-dial. (m)

NOTE VII. CHAP. LXII. Page 224.

On Aristotle's Treatise on the Republic.

ARISTOTLE has observed in this work nearly the same order as in those which he has written on animals. (n) After laying down some general principles,

(k) Demetr. Dialer. de Elocut. cap. 299.

(l) Athen. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 99.

* *Greffier solaire.*

(m) Liv. 3. lib. 2.

(n) Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. cap. 4. c. ii. p. 366.

He treats of the different forms of governments, of their constituent parts, their variations, the causes of their decline, the means by which they are maintained, &c. &c. He discusses all these points, incessantly comparing various constitutions with each other, to show their resemblance and difference, and continually supporting his reflexions by examples. If I had confined myself to follow his method, I must have abridged, book by book, and chapter by chapter, a work which is itself only an extract; but as I wished merely to give an idea of the doctrine of the author, I have endeavoured, with much more labour, to bring together the ideas of the same kind scattered through the work, and relative, some to the difference in the forms of government, and others to the best of those forms. Another reason determined me to adopt this plan: the Treatise on the Republic, such as we now have it, is divided into several books; and some eminent critics have asserted, that this division was not made by the author, and that the original order of these books has been changed by the copyists. (o)

NOTE VIII. SAME CHAP. Page 225.

On the Titles of King and Tyrant.

XENOPHON makes the same distinction between a king and a tyrant as Aristotle. The former, says he, is a prince who governs according to the laws, and

(o) Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 157.

with the consent of his people; whereas the government of the latter is arbitrary, detested by the people, and not founded on the laws. (p) See also what Plato (q) Aristippus, (r) and others have observed on this subject.

NOTE IX. SAME CHAP. Page 276.

On a Law of the Locrians in Italy.

DEMOSTHENES(s) tells us, that, during two centuries, no alteration was made in the laws of this people. According to one of these laws, he who struck out the eye of another was to lose one of his own. A Locrian having threatened to strike out the eye of a person who had but one, the latter represented, that his enemy, though he should undergo the punishment of retaliation inflicted by the law, would by no means suffer equally with himself. It was therefore resolved, that in such a case the offender should lose both his eyes.

(p) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 813.

(q) Plat. in Polit. t. ii. p. 26.

(r) Aristip. ap. Stob. serm. 48. p. 344.

(s) Demosth. in Timocr. p. 795.

NOTE X. CHAP. LXVII. Page 424.

On the Irony of Socrates.

I HAVE said but little of the irony of Socrates, because I am persuaded he did not make so frequent and severe a use of this figure as Plato has represented. To be convinced of this, we need only read the conversations of Socrates, as related by Xenophon, and those which Plato has attributed to him. In the former, Socrates expresses himself with a gravity, which we frequently regret not to find in the latter. Both the disciples have introduced their master disputing with the sophist Hippias; (t) and if we compare the dialogues they have given us, we shall distinctly perceive the difference of which I speak. Xenophon, however, was present at that which he has transmitted to us.

NOTE XI. SAME CHAP. Page 456.

On the Regret which it has been pretended the Athenians testified after the Death of Socrates.

SOME authors, posterior to Socrates by several centuries, have assured us, that, immediately ~~after~~ his death, the Athenians, afflicted by a contagious malady, were

(t) Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 804. Plat. t. i. p. 363; t. iii. p. 281.

convinced of the injustice they had committed; (*y*) that they erected a statue to him; that, without deigning to hear his accusers, they put to death Melitus, and banished the others; (*x*) and that Anytus was stoned at Heraclea, where his tomb was to be seen a long time after. (*y*) Others have related, that the accusers of Socrates, unable to endure the public detestation, hanged themselves in despair. (*z*) But it is impossible to reconcile these traditions with the total silence of Xenophon and Plato, who did not die till long after their master, and who nowhere speak either of the repentance of the Athenians or the punishment of his accusers. Xenophon, who survived Anytus, positively assures us, that the memory of the latter was not respected among the Athenians, either on account of the irregularities of his son, whose education he had neglected, or the folly and impropriety of his own conduct. (*a*) This passage, if I am not mistaken, incontrovertibly proves, that the people of Athens never revenged on Anytus the death of Socrates.

(*u*) Argum. in Busir. Isocr. t. ii. p. 149.

(*x*) Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 266. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 43. Menag. ibid.

• (*y*) Themist. Orat. 20. p. 239.

(*z*) Plut. de Invid. t. ii. p. 538.

(*a*) Xenoph. Apol. p. 707.

NOTE XII. CHAP. LXVIII. Page 472.

On the Place which, at Eleusis, was the Scene both of the Ceremonies and Spectacles.

On this question I am only able to give some slight elucidations.

Ancient authors inform us, that the festivals of Ceres sometimes brought to Eleusis thirty thousand of the initiated, (b) without including those who only came from motives of curiosity. These were not present at all the ceremonies. To the more secret, no doubt, were only admitted the small number of novices who every year received the last seal of initiation, and some of those who had received it long before.

The temple, which is one of the largest in Greece, (c) was built in the middle of a court enclosed by a wall, 360 feet in length from north to south, and 301 broad from east to west. (d)* There, if I am not mistaken, was it, that the mystæ, or initiated, with torches in their hands, performed their dances and evolutions.

Behind the temple, on the western side, is still to be seen a terrace, cut in the rock itself, and raised eight or nine feet above the floor of the temple. Its length is about 270 feet, and its breadth in some places 44. At

(b) Herodot. lib. 8. cap. 65.

(c) Strab. lib. 9. p. 395. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 7. p. 125.

(d) Wood, Not. MSS. Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190.

* The English measures in Chandler's Travels are 387 feet in length, and 328 in breadth. T.

the northern end are to be seen the remains of a chapel, to go up into which there were several steps (e)

I conjecture, that on this terrace was exhibited the scenery of which I have spoken in this chapter:—that it was divided lengthwise into three great galleries; the two first of which represented the region of trial, and that of the infernal shades; and the third, covered with earth, presented groves and meadows to the view of the initiated, who from thence went up into the chapel, where their eyes were dazzled with the splendor of the statue of the goddess.

NOTE XIII. SAME CHAP. Page 472.

On certain Words used in the Mysteries of Ceres.

MEURSIUS(f) has said, that the assembly was dismissed by these two words, *konx ompax*. Hesychius, (g) who has transmitted them to us, only says, that they were an acclamation to the initiated. I have not mentioned them, because I do not know whether they were pronounced at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the ceremony.

Le Clerc tells us, that they signified, *watch and abstain from evil*. Instead of directly attacking this in-

(e) Chandler's Travels in Greece, chap. 42. p. 190. Note of M. Foucherot.

(f) Meurs. in Eleus. sect. 1.

(g) Hesych. in Κοῦξ.

terpretation, I shall content myself with presenting to the reader the answer which I wrote, in the year 1766, to my learned friend M. Larcher, who had done me the honour to request my opinion on this expression (h)

It is manifest, that the two words *κρυξ ομπαξ* are not Greek, but in what language ought we to seek them? I should incline to think they are Egyptian, because the Eleusinian mysteries appear to me to have been brought from Egypt. To arrive at their true meaning, it would be necessary, first, that we should be better acquainted with the ancient Egyptian language, of which we have only some small remains in the Coptic; and, secondly, that the words in question, by passing from one language into another, should not have suffered in their pronunciation; nor, by having been transcribed by a multitude of copyists, undergone any alteration from their original orthography.

We may, indeed, have recourse to the Phœnician tongue, which had a considerable affinity with the Egyptian. This has been done by Le Clerc, who, after the example of Bochart, found the explanation of every thing in the Phœnician language. But ten different meanings of these two words might be given, all equally probable, that is to say, all equally uncertain. There is nothing which may more easily be accommodated to the wishes of the etymologist than the oriental languages, and this it is which has led astray the greater part of those who have addicted themselves to that study.

You see, sir, how far I am from being able to say any thing positive on the subject, and how little I de-

(h) *Supplément à la Philosophie de l'Histoire*, p. 373.

“ serve the honour you have done me in requesting my
 “ opinion, since I can only answer you by a confes-
 “ sion of my ignorance.”

NOTE XIV. SAME CHAP. Page 473.

On the Secret Doctrine.

WARBURTON has endeavoured to prove, that the secret of the mysteries was no other than the doctrine of the unity of God; and, in support of his opinion, has produced a poetical fragment, cited by several fathers of the church, and known by the name of the Palinodia of Orpheus. This fragment begins by an expression used in the mysteries---*Far hence, ye profane.* It declares, that there is only one God, who exists from himself, is the source of all existence, and invisible to every eye, though to him all things are visible. (i)

If it were proved that the hierophant taught this doctrine to the initiated, no doubt would any longer remain concerning the real object of the mysteries; but this question is attended with many difficulties.

Whether the verses above mentioned were written by Orpheus, or some other author, is of little consequence; but it is of importance to know, whether the date of them be antecedent to Christianity, and whether they were really recited in the ceremonies of initiation.

1. Eusebius has cited them after a Jew, named Aristobulus, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philopa-

(i) Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 64.

tor, (k) king of Egypt---that is to say, about the year 200 before Christ? but the reading which he has preserved differs essentially from that found in the works of St. Justin. (l) The latter announces one Supreme Being, who beholds, and who is the author of all things, and to whom the name of Jupiter is given. The reading in Eusebius contains the same profession of faith, with some difference in the expressions: but in it mention is made of Moses and Abraham; which has induced some learned critics to conclude, that these verses were fabricated, or at least interpolated, by Aristobulus, or some other Jew. (m) But if we reject the interpolation, and prefer the reading in St. Justin, all we shall be able to collect from it is, that the author of these verses, when speaking of a Supreme Being, has expressed himself in nearly the same manner as many ancient writers. It is especially to be remarked, that the principal articles of the doctrine contained in the *Palinodia*, are found in the hymn of Cleanthes, (n) the contemporary of Aristobulus; and in the poem of Aratus (o), who lived at the same time, and who appears to have been quoted by St. Paul. (p)

2. Were the *Palinodia* of Orpheus sung in the ceremonies of initiation? Tatian and Athenagoras (q) seem indeed to associate it with the mysteries, but they only

(k) Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 13. cap. 12. p. 664.

(l) Justin. *Exhort. ad Græc.* p. 18; et de *Monarch.* p. 37.

(m) Euseb. de *Poes. Orph.* p. 118. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* t. ii. p. 281. Cudw. *Syst. Intell.* cap. 4. § 17. p. 445. Mosheim. *ibid.*

(n) Fabric. *ibid.* t. ii. p. 397.

(o) Arat. *Phænomen.* v. 5. Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* lib. 13. cap. 12. p. 665.

(p) Acts, xvii. 28.

(q) Tatian. *Orat. ad Græc.* p. 32. Athenag. *Legat. pro Christian.* in *init.*

produce it in opposition to the absurdities of polytheism. Can we suppose it probable, that these two authors, and the other fathers of the church, when they were endeavouring to prove that the unity of the Deity had always been known to the Gentiles, would have neglected to inform us, that such a profession of faith was made in the ceremonies of initiation at Eleusis?

By depriving Warburton of this powerful argument, I do not mean to attack his opinion concerning the secret doctrine of the mysteries, which always appeared to me very probable. In fact, it is not easy to suppose, that a religious society which destroyed the objects of the popular worship, which taught the doctrine of rewards and punishments in another life, and which required from its members so many preparations and prayers, and enjoined them abstinence from so many things, joined with the greatest purity of heart, had no other intention than to conceal beneath a thick veil the ancient traditions concerning the formation of the world, the operations of Nature, the origin of arts, and other objects which could only have a slight influence on manners.

It may perhaps be said, that the mysteries were confined to teaching the doctrine of the metempsychosis. But this doctrine, which the philosophers did not fear to explain in their writings, supposed a tribunal which, after death, assigned to the souls of men the good or evil destinies which were to be their reward or punishment.

I will add one reflexion more. According to Eusebius, (r) the hierophant appeared as the Demiourgos, that is to say, the author of the universe. Three priests

(r) Euseb. Præp. Ev'ng. lib. 3. cap. 12. p. 117.

bore the symbols of the Sun, the Moon, and Mercury; and perhaps some inferior ministers represented the four other planets. However this may be, do we not here

the Demiourgos bringing forth the universe from chaos? and is not this the image of the formation of the world, as Plato has described it in his *Timæus*?

The opinion of Warburton is extremely ingenious, and supported with much judgement and learning; however, as it is liable to great difficulties, I thought it best to offer it as a mere conjecture.



END OF VOL. V.